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ABSTRACT

This report provides an account of the desegregation process in several southern states. It contains detailed case studies of five southern school districts (Charlotte-Mecklenburg County, North Carolina; Williamsburg County, South Carolina; Clarke County, Georgia; Little Rock, Arkansas; and Hillsborough County, Florida) and shorter profiles of six others (Annisten, Alabama; Austin, Texas; Bogalusa, Louisiana; Nashville, Tennessee; Norfolk, Virginia; and Meridian, Mississippi). It also includes preliminary analysis of results from a southern opinion survey conducted on almost 300 school systems in January, 1976 by the Institute for Social Research at Florida State University, and the returns from an informal questionnaire mailed to more than 500 individual southerners by the Southern Regional Council. The major conclusion from the case studies and profiles and surveys in the report is that there has been no decrease in the quality of education of blacks or whites as a result of desegregation. (Author/AM)

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:

A Report Card from the South

by John Egerton

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Preface

In the 21st year since the *Brown* decision striking down segregation in the nation's public schools, equal opportunity in education remains an elusive goal. Over those years the Southern Regional Council periodically has reported on the school desegregation process in the South, pointing out derelictions of duty by Southern school officials, the overt racial discrimination experienced by black students in desegregated schools, the federal retreat in enforcement.

This report by John Egerton, a distinguished Southern education writer, grew out of a concern over the growing national reaction against positive implementation of school desegregation in various Northern communities, which the Council felt may well undermine the progress that has been made in the South. As is proper, Mr. Egerton is critical of various aspects of school desegregation in the South today, but in this report he goes beyond simple criticism, to report on the immense progress and attitudinal changes made in numerous Southern school districts, including some that once were centers of resistance to desegregation. Of paramount importance, too, is the generally positive attitude toward school desegregation expressed by school superintendents and other educators around the South, whose opinions were sought by the Council and the Institute for Social Research at Florida State University. These attitudes are reported in detail in the body of the report.

One point is very clear, both from on the scene reports of Mr. Egerton's and other reporters and from the opinion surveys: The Southern experience recorded here can and should be valuable to school systems in the rest of the nation which are undergoing the traumas of resistance to school desegregation. There is a good deal more that needs to be done in the South, but the rest of the country needs to know what has already been achieved.

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

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I The Nation: "Agonizing Reappraisal"

Drawing from the same well of history, two groups of Americans expressed opposite and conflicting reactions to the news from Boston in the winter of 1976.

The news concerned school desegregation. Those who opposed it saw in the organized resistance of white parents a reflection of the patriots of 1776 who threw off the yoke of government tyranny and launched a revolutionary war for independence. The other group, supporters of desegregation, saw in the behavior of blacks and in the action of the federal judiciary dramatic contemporary signs that the ideals of justice and equality, embodied these 200 years in the nation's most basic documents of law and order, are still alive and functioning.

That dual invocation of the spirit of the Founding Fathers is but one of many ironies in the bicentennial rocking of the Cradle of Liberty. Boston is at once the oldest and newest battleground in America's two-century-long struggle to prove its own stated principles. The conflict there now focuses on the issue of equal rights in education, a question which was well-known in the courts more than 25 years ago. The question supposedly was settled in Topeka in 1954, in Little Rock in 1957, in Tuscaloosa in 1963, in Grenada, Mississippi, in 1966, in Charlotte in 1971. Now, in this ambivalent winter of celebration and discontent, it appears never to have been settled at all.

Boston has been in turmoil over the desegregation of its public schools for two years. Louisville, a city which claimed in 1956 to have accomplished the peaceful integration of its schools, erupted into violence in the fall of 1975 after a federal court compelled an end to continuing segregation there. The shock waves from those two troubled cities outside the Deep South reverberated through the White House and the halls of Congress, and the "agonizing reappraisal" of desegregation that had begun in the late 1960s became an obsessive public preoccupation.

Most of the attention was on the big cities of the North. It was said that they were too large to accommodate themselves to school desegregation. Their segregation was said to be *"de facto"*—not a consequence of public action—and thus beyond the reach of judicial remedy. They claimed to have too many incompatible racial and ethnic groups to accomplish desegregation peacefully, and some said desegregation was actually destructive of the new spirit of ethnic identity and cultural pride that had begun to emerge in the cities.

Many in Congress and in other public offices agreed. The press began to carry stories about "the failure of forced busing," and about "giving up on integration." An influential social scientist, James S. Coleman, was widely quoted as saying the courts had gone too far in ordering desegregation; it was, he said, time to stop forcing the issue down people's throats. Public opinion polls indicated that an overwhelming majority of Americans—including a substantial number of blacks—were opposed to busing for the purpose of desegregating the schools. On the surface at least, it appeared that the nation's quarter-century effort to end segregation in public education was about to be brought to a halt.

And where was the South while all this was going on? It was, by and large, quietly adjusting to the reality of school desegregation. To be sure, some of its cities were like Northern cities, splitting along racial lines. Some of its smaller communities still practiced discrimination, whether with old directness or new subtlety, and in some rural areas the white students were all in private schools while only blacks attended the public schools. In the region as a whole, though, from Virginia to Texas, public school systems were trying with varying degrees of success to do what many cities and towns elsewhere in the nation were saying could not be done: they were trying to make biracial schools a functional reality.

They have their work cut out for them. From one end of the country to the other, the drive for equal educational opportunity that escalated in earnest with the U.S. Supreme Court's pathfinding *Brown* decision in 1954 has opened up a multitude of enormously complex issues and problems in the public schools. Some of them are purely racial in nature; others have more to do with socio-economic class than race. Overlapping and at times conflicting legal, political, educational, social and economic concerns are involved. Even a mere listing of the problems seems almost endless. Here are some of the more prominent ones:

- *Growing segregation by race.* In many of the nation's largest cities, including Los Angeles, St. Louis, Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, Baltimore, Washington and Philadelphia, whites are a diminishing minority in the public schools, and in many of the schools in those cities, segregation is the rule rather than the exception. In Chicago, for example, 415 of the city's 674 public schools enroll an overwhelming preponderance of either blacks or whites.
- *Socio-economic segregation.* More pronounced and pervasive than racial separation is the growing isolation of the poor in public education. The exodus of the mostly-white middle class from the cities to the suburbs and from public to private schools, together

with the expansion of low-income populations in the urban centers, is resulting in school systems that are characterized by instability, imbalance and impoverishment.

- *Exclusion of students.* The Children's Defense Fund discovered in a 1974 investigation that nearly two million children between the ages of 7 and 17 were not enrolled in school—and that number did not include the hundreds of thousands who are expelled or suspended for disciplinary reasons each year. No one knows the full extent of the student pushout-dropout problem, but it is generally acknowledged to be extremely serious; and in virtually every place where spot-checks have been made, the students who leave school by choice or by compulsion are disproportionately black and overwhelmingly poor.
- *Student behavior.* The National Education Association said in January, 1976, that vandalism, violence and criminal behavior "has reached crisis proportions" in the nation's schools. American school children, the NEA said, committed 100 murders, 9,000 rapes, 12,000 armed robberies, 204,000 aggravated assaults and 270,000 school burglaries in 1975; and the problem "has spread nearly everywhere—to suburbs and rural communities as well as inner cities." Americans are deeply divided in their opinions about the causes of these disturbing conditions, and about the measures needed to correct them.
- *In-school segregation.* The uses of testing, tracking and ability grouping to separate students from one another are practices which arouse strong emotions and continuous controversy in many schools. Outside the classrooms, there is much evidence of social segregation—often self-imposed and self-enforced—along race and class lines.
- *Busing.* In spite of the fact that well over half of the nation's school children ride buses or public conveyances to and from school, the use of buses as a means of reducing segregation has become so volatile a public issue that it now virtually overshadows every other matter of concern affecting education.
- *Resistance to desegregation.* The remnant of Southern opposition to school desegregation has been reinforced by massive Northern resistance. Political leadership at the local, state and national levels reflects this recent development (whether it leads or follows public opinion is difficult to say), and so does much comment from the press and the academic community.
- *Erosion of support for desegregation.* The broad-based coalition of liberal whites, blacks and others who have led the movement to end racial isolation in the schools has begun to show signs of slippage as opposition to busing mounts and black enrollment in the central cities grows.
- *Legal complexities.* The particular circumstances in each individual school system are sufficiently different to preclude uniform remedies for segregation and discrimination. As a result, the actions of legislatures, the Congress, the courts and the legal profession in addressing the problem have been confusing and often contradictory.
- *The limits of schools.* The combination of worsening economic conditions for all public institutions, demands for more and better services from the schools, and inherent weaknesses in the education profession make improvement in public schooling—not to say desegregation and equal opportunity—a difficult task at best.

To that litany of woes, more verses can quickly be added. Some politicians and pressure groups are seriously attempting to amend the Constitution to outlaw busing as a desegregation tool once and for all. In all the discussion about desegregation, no one has even remotely approached an alternative to the enormous concentrations of minorities and low-income students in the schools of such cities as New York and Chicago. Social scientists are now in a state of angry disagreement over the causes and consequences of racial isolation, the pros and cons of desegregation, and the proper course for future public policy in education. A steady decline in pupil academic performance has been reported by teachers and testers, and it apparently affects all racial and economic groups in all parts of the country. The successes blacks have had in gaining legal support for equal rights have led other racial and ethnic minorities, non-English-speaking students, exceptional children (handicapped, gifted, etc.) and women to seek legal redress for the inequities they face. Desegregation has been followed in many instances by a decline in the number and percentage of black teachers and principals. Teacher unions have become more militant in their demands for higher pay, and many communities have answered with demands for improved performance. There is now much protracted controversy over what and how schools should teach, and the disputes are leading into such tangled thickets as textbook content, personal values, morality, religion, sex, ethnic identity and ideology.

Perhaps more than any other institution in our society in these troubled times, public education is beseiged and beleaguered—some would say hopelessly engulfed—by a flood of problems that defy ready solution. To what extent are these complications traceable to the nation's long history of segregation, discrimination and inequality? To what extent are they remediable by the elimination of the remaining legal and social barriers to racial and socio-economic quality of opportunity? These are imponderable questions, and in the present social climate, they seem far removed from public attention and concern. Weariness and apathy, skepticism and anger characterize the public mood now. Those who seek solutions to social problems find it hard to get attention, and solutions, when they are proposed at all, tend to more radical or reactionary. In the schools, the problems often go unattended, and some of them grow worse. In the final analysis, it appears that too great a social burden has been placed on the shoulders of our schools. They are being asked to do that

which no other institution has demonstrated an interest or ability to do.

In the absence of public discussion and creative attention to educational problems, school busing has been magnified out of proportion as the single most pressing concern of the schools—and its elimination as the single most urgent and necessary "reform." President Ford has made plain his opposition to "forced busing," stopping just short of publicly endorsing the efforts of many members of Congress to pass an anti-busing amendment to the Constitution. Senator Henry Jackson, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, has proposed legislation to restrict judicial busing orders, putting him slightly to the left of George Wallace and Ronald Reagan and to the right of the other candidates for President, all of whom have tried with little success to sidestep the busing issue.

In the press, Washington *Post* columnist William Raspberry, who is black, has written that "A lot of us are wondering whether the busing game is worth the prize." The Wall Street *Journal* has called busing "a [social] policy gone bad, because of a prejudged reading of ambiguous statistics and a determination to disregard political effects." *Time* Magazine, which now describes busing as "forced" and "massive"—adjectives once applied only by its most unyielding critics—said in a cover story last September that "busing is plainly neither a long-range solution nor the best instrument to bring one about." Some columnists and commentators, among them Carl Rowan, Fred Hechinger and Shana Alexander, have attempted to restore some perspective to the debate on busing, but opponents such as Patrick Buchanan and James Kilpatrick have clearly spoken for a larger segment of the population. Kilpatrick, who once wrote a book called *The Southern Case for School Segregation*, has called busing "racism . . . a total flop . . . ." It has "fostered resegregation," he says, and it hasn't helped children, either educationally or socially. Even Norman Cousins, the eminent liberal editor of the *Saturday Review*, now says busing "hasn't worked," it is "leading away from integration and not toward it," it has "lowered the standard of education available to whites," and it has produced deep fissures within American society.

The proponents and opponents of busing, wrote Noel Epstein in the Washington *Post* last fall, seem like Chekhov characters, "talking past each other into space." After more than two decades, he said, "there turns out to be little agreement on what school desegregation in America is all about." At a conference on alternatives to busing held in Louisville last December, the speakers—most of them lawyers or sociologists—seemed bent on proving Epstein's observation. Sociologists David Armor, Nathan Glazer and James Coleman argued that busing as a tool to achieve desegregation ought to be abandoned as counter-productive. Lawyers Charles Morgan and Melvin Leventhal defended busing as an effective response to racial isolation and a necessary Constitutional measure.

The comments of Coleman, the principal author of a widely-quoted sociological study of schools in 1966, have been especially well publicized lately. His earlier study has frequently been cited in support of desegregation, because it indicated that the academic performance of black children would improve in schools where middle-class whites were in the majority. Coleman himself has been considered a strong advocate of school integration. Now he has produced a new study in which he concludes that "current means by which schools are being desegregated are intensifying that problem [segregation between central cities and suburbs] rather than reducing it." He based his conclusion on a statistical study of trends in the nation's 20 largest city school districts between 1968 and 1973, and followed it with a series of press interviews in which he went further to blame court-ordered busing for the exodus of whites from the cities.

Robert Reinhold, a New York *Times* reporter, made inquiries in the 20 cities and found that "no court-ordered busing, rezoning or any other kind of coerced integration of any kind" had occurred in any of them during the years Coleman claimed the seeds of white flight had been sown. Coleman subsequently conceded to Reinhold that his public comments had gone beyond the facts his research showed. Nonetheless, he kept saying publicly that the courts had gone too far, that desegregation caused white flight, that school desegregation was "not the only way to promote social integration"—or even "the best way"—and that "compulsory busing is . . . a restriction of rights."

Several of his fellow social scientists took Coleman to task for his comments. Two in particular—Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard and Robert Green of Michigan State—responded in detail with "another view of urban desegregation," a critique of Coleman's work and a review of other research having conclusions almost diametrically opposed to Coleman's.

The debate continues, but the national mood is clear: Coleman and Kilpatrick and the others who want busing halted at any cost—including the perpetuation of segregation—speak for a major part of the nation's population.

Christine Rossell, a political scientist at Boston University, recently published a study in which she found no direct correlation between desegregation and white flight; she accused Coleman of "statistical sleight of hand" in his analysis of enrollment data. Other research —on desegregation and pupil academic performance, and on busing—tends strongly in the direction of supporting both desegregation and busing. Yet the opponents of busing, sensing victory in Congress and perhaps even in the courts and in the language of the Constitution itself, now appear to have the upper hand.

Senator Walter Mondale, who chaired the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity in its extended deliberations a few years ago, sounded a warning to his colleagues in a 1972 Senate speech. "If we bar the use of reasonable transportation as one tool for achieving desegregation," he said, "we will set in concrete much school segregation . . . We have only two

choices: We can assume our share of the burden . . . build on the hopeful examples of successful integration, help the courts avoid educational mistakes, and make school desegregation work. Or we can stand in the schoolhouse door."

Sociologist Kenneth Clark, whose research findings were instrumental in the victory of the plaintiffs in the *Brown* case 22 years ago, remains convinced that the white majority will never make the necessary extra effort to improve and equalize public schools until they are desegregated. "So-called *de facto* segregation in the North is equally as destructive to black children as *de jure* segregation," he says. "The disease of racism in the North is complex and sophisticated, but it has the same corrosive and devastating effect. I believe it will eventually be overcome, because it has to be. This society has no place left to go. The issue is not love and brotherhood, but the survival of this nation."

Governor Reubin Askew of Florida, a plain-spoken advocate of desegregation, expressed his convictions on the subject in these words to a conference of parents and teachers in his state a few years ago: "We cannot achieve equal opportunity in education by passing laws or constitutional amendments against busing . . . They could deny us what I believe is the highest destiny of the American people. That destiny . . . is to achieve a society in which all races, all creeds and all religions have learned not only to *live* with their differences — but to *thrive* upon them. No other civilization has learned to do that. But we can. And we *must!*"

The Mondales and Clarks and Askews of America are losing their case. The swelling clamor of voices cries for a halt to busing. If public opinion outside the South could be expressed in a simple statement, it would probably sound something like this: "We can't desegregate our schools, or our society. It's too late for that. We should stop trying to enforce equal opportunity." There is, it seems, an overriding "self-evident truth" — not that all men are created equal, but that privilege is always defined in terms of money, and usually in terms of race.

And what about the South? What would be the consequences for it if national policy were to be reversed, busing halted, and desegregation abandoned?

In two decades of conflict and crisis, the South has submitted reluctantly to the rule of law. From a Northern perspective, it has been dragged, kicking and screaming, to the bar of justice. During the first 15 years of that social change, every court order and every act of white resistance prompted indignant cries of moral self-righteousness in the North. The South must pay the price for its wrongdoing, it was said. The South must desegregate.

Now it has paid, and it is still paying. Over the past five or six years, desegregation has become the new reality in most of the South's public school systems. Many serious and perplexing problems remain to be worked out, and integration — genuine, thoroughgoing equity — has not been achieved, but much has changed, most of it for the better, and the overall direction is clear: the South is moving toward fairer and more effective education for all its children.

From the North, there are no more outraged cries of righteous indignation. Not much is said about the South these days. A story from Little Rock typifies the current mood. At the height of the school crisis there in 1957, a Catholic priest in the city received a call from a fellow cleric in Boston who demanded to know what the church was doing to exert moral leadership in the cause of justice. The answer was not altogether satisfactory. Last fall, the man in Little Rock rang up his colleague in Boston. "I'm returning your call," he said. The Bostonian hung up.

What Boston and the rest of the United States outside the South are going to do about segregation and inequality of opportunity in education is a subject worthy of extended investigation and debate. Whatever is done will profoundly affect the future course of education in the South. For the sake of the South and the nation, it is critically important that the South's experience with desegregation be fully understood.

Before any effort is made to reverse the laws and constitutional mandates supporting desegregation, the nation needs to take another look at the South — a cool, critical, dispassionate look. Laying aside past feelings of superiority on the part of Northerners and current expressions of vindictiveness among Southerners, the country should stop and consider its educational policies and objectives in light of the Southern experience. Facile stereotypes and sweeping generalizations are no longer helpful, if they ever were. Conflicting sociological data, massive banks of computerized enrollment statistics and test scores, inconclusive educational research findings and the tangled morass of court opinions and legal maneuvers attending this issue do not provide a sufficient basis for new national policies. The nation needs to look squarely at Southern schools themselves, and at the people who support them, and the people who run them, and most of all at the people who go — more often than not, by bus — to study and learn in them.

The purpose of this report, and the studies upon which it is based, is to initiate that inquiry. It contains detailed case studies of five Southern school districts and shorter profiles of six others. It includes a preliminary analysis of results from a South-wide opinion survey in almost 300 school systems, conducted in January, 1976, by the Institute for Social Research at Florida State University, and the returns from an informal questionnaire mailed to more than 500 individual Southerners by the Southern Regional Council. Finally, it contains a summary and some conclusions about the current state of school desegregation in the South.

It seems appropriate to let the findings speak for themselves, with a few prior words of explanation: the school systems reported on here were not chosen to represent either the best or the worst examples of school desegregation in the region. No judgment is placed upon how well or how poorly they are doing compared to other school districts. All of the case studies and pro-

files concern school systems which have had several years of experience in the desegregation process, but the same can now be said of most school systems in the South. The eleven districts singled out for investigation include one from each of the Southern states. One has more than 115,000 students, another has just under 5,000, and the rest range somewhere in between. In one district, the racial composition is 80 percent white and 20 percent black; in another, there is an 80 percent black majority; in still another, more than one-fifth of the students are Mexican-American. Some of the districts have a proportional balance of each race in almost every school; others still operate some one-race schools. The districts are rural, urban and metropolitan, well financed and poorly financed, tranquil and troubled. In some of them, busing is far more extensive now than before desegregation; in others, the amount of busing is about the same as before. In short, the eleven districts were chosen to be broadly representative of the diversity within the region, but not to be representative of any particular standard or quality or quantity of desegregation.

Before moving to the school system case studies and profiles, a broader perspective can be gained from examining the two opinion surveys which were conducted as a part of the overall study.

II The Surveys:
Gains Over Losses, But "A Long Way Yet To Go"

In round figures, there are about 12 million students enrolled in the 2,600 public school systems of the eleven Southern states. More than 8 million of the students—about 66 percent—are white. More than 3 million (28 percent) are black, and about three-quarters of a million belong to other racial minorities. (There are, for example, about 600,000 Mexican-American students in Texas, more than 65,000 Spanish-surname students in Florida, and about 15,000 Indian students in North Carolina.)

In January 1976, the Institute for Social Research (ISR) at Florida State University conducted an opinion survey by mail among superintendents and principals in the school districts of the South. Questionnaires were sent by ISR to the superintendent and one principal in each of 292 districts. Between 10 and 90 districts in each state were included in the survey. They were chosen by a method of stratified random selection based on the relative number and size of the districts in each state. In sum, about 11 percent of all the districts in the South were surveyed, and those districts enroll about 18 percent of all the students in the region. The largest district surveyed has more than 240,000 students; the smallest has only a few hundred. In some, desegregation has resulted in racial balance in every school; in others, there has been little or no desegregation. The representation of black students in the districts ranges from zero to 100 percent.*

The overall purpose of the survey was to determine how desegregation has proceeded in the sample districts, and how certain school officials there feel about the experience. Final results of the study will be published later; the preliminary analysis below is based on returns in by late February, by which time slightly more than half of the superintendents and principals had completed the questionnaires.

Replies were received from 149 superintendents. Virtually all of the districts they represent (with the exception of a few which are all-white**) have been desegregated to some extent. A slightly smaller number of principals responded, and all but about 10 percent of the schools they head have biracial enrollments.

Some of the information sought in the survey concerned employment and enrollment data by race for the years 1970 and 1975. The respondents were also asked to indicate the year in which desegregation began in their school or school district, and whether it was voluntary, court-ordered or otherwise compelled. The responses to these inquiries have not yet been analyzed in detail, and the cumulative answers yielded by them are difficult to relate in meaningful percentages. But four other questions sought opinions on the process and the consequences of desegregation, and the answers to them are easily tabulated.

One question asked to what extent—if at all—desegregation had interrupted the educational process. Here, expressed in percentages, is how the superintendents and principals responded:

Superintendents		Principals
36%	no interruption	30%
54%	minimum interruption	61%
10%	very disruptive	9%

Another question sought to determine the effect of desegregation on white enrollment in the schools. Again in percentages, here are the responses:

Superintendents		Principals
22%	withdrawal of a large number of white students from the district (or school)	13%
4%	white flight of families outside the school district	5%
74%	no noticeable difference in enrollment of white students	82%

The third question asked the superintendents and principals to say whether, in their opinion, the quality of education now being received by the students in their schools is better than, the same as, or worse than five years ago. The percentage responses were as follows:

Superintendents		Principals
54%	better	42%
36%	the same	34%
10%	worse	24%

**The sample used by the Institute For Social Research and also names and selected characteristics of local public school systems in the survey are shown in Appendix 1 and 2.*

***Eight Arkansas districts of fewer than 1,000 students indicated no blacks or less than 1 percent. Two with enrollments of between 1,000-2,000 indicated no blacks. Seven Texas districts with fewer than 1,000 students indicated no blacks, and one with 1,000-2,400 students did also.*

The last question solicited opinions on the long-term effects of school desegregation in the communities served by the schools. This was the percentage distribution of the responses:

Superintendents		Principals
45%	a positive advantage to the community	46%
45%	no effect either way	44%
10%	a negative effect and a disadvantage	10%

These four questions get to the heart of the national debate on school desegregation. It has been widely asserted that desegregation is very disruptive to the educational process, that it results in substantial loss of white students from the schools, that it adversely affects the quality of education, and that its long-term effects on communities will be negative. In direct contrast to those assertions, the Southern superintendents and principals who responded to the ISR survey seemed to indicate that their experiences have led them to quite different conclusions. Roughly nine of every 10 said desegregation had caused little or no interruption in the educational process; three-fourths of the superintendents and better than eight of every 10 principals said desegregation had caused little or no change in white enrollment; 90 percent of the superintendents and three-fourths of the principals said the quality of education in their schools is now as good as or better than five years ago; and nine of every 10 respondents predicted that desegregation will not have a negative long-term effect in their communities.

On the questionnaire, the superintendents and principals were asked to "comment further on any of the opinions you have expressed . . . or on any other current or past experience in your community as it has desegregated its schools." Some of the comments are indicative of the satisfactions and the frustrations that inevitably accompany social change. Here are a few examples:

> In my opinion, the concept of racial balance dictates a white majority in every school and places a negative connotation on schools with a black majority. We are fortunate in that the federal courts did not levy such a remedy on this system, and, as a result, the community did not become irreconcilably polarized. This may account for the degree of success attained and the positive trend in neighborhood racial mix.
>
> Politicians and press hurt us. Otherwise we could have desegregated 10 years before we did.
>
> Tension in our schools is more pronounced than five years ago. Students are more critical of the opposite race and of school officials . . . . Anything we do to try to take care of individual differences is attacked as being racially motivated. If athletic teams end up being a large majority black, white support falls off with no increase of financial support from the black community . . . . It is my opinion that schools in the future will end up largely composed of one race. It will become difficult to operate a school where the races are about evenly divided—and support for public schools will continue to decline.
>
> The Northern schools should get on with it!
>
> Since our community has so few black students, this was no problem to integrate them. However, our problem has been with the Civil Rights Division of HEW and some of their idiotic demands. Our district has approximately 88 percent of the student population made up of Mexican-Americans . . . . They [HEW] found that we were not meeting "their guidelines" in certain areas. This district's Board of Education felt we *were* in compliance with the law; as a result, this district has stood firm and has resisted.
>
> Hopefully the quality of education is better. The college-bound scored above the national average in all areas on ACT [standardized tests] this past year for the first time.
>
> I certainly hope desegregation brings a positive effect to the community in the long run. There is more hostility *now* than ever before.
>
> In my opinion, the black students would prefer their own school since their percentage is so much lower here.
>
> In our community, private schools did not pop up as they did in many other communities. The whites stayed, and even though the first years were rough they stuck it out. The quality of education suffered and is still suffering. But as of now quality education is returning.
>
> Integration has taken a tough job (secondary principalship) and made it damn near impossible. However, things look better.
>
> There is no way that a questionnaire such as this can reflect the many frustrations, accomplishments, or individual incidents that have made lasting impressions on youngsters—good and bad—since we first integrated. Not only is integration the law, but it is also the Christian thing to have done—but it is still tough. Youngsters who have "grown in their attitude" concerning race relations must also return home each day where attitudes may be entirely different. It has not been easy and we still have a long way to go.
>
> We had token integration (freedom of choice) prior to 1970 . . . . Since total integration we have made a slow but steady improvement of education in this school. I feel that the education of black students has been improved and that of white students is at least as good as before total integration. We have a few relatively minor problems that still exist as a result of integration but I feel they will eventually be eliminated. I believe that the fact of better education for blacks will raise the standard of living for all in the long run.

Students and Teachers

Since the days of *Brown*, the chief protagonists in the struggle over school desegregation have been lawyers, judges, politicians, parents, school board members, school administrators, pressure groups, academic experts and technical specialists. The most affected parties have also been the least consulted: teachers and students.

Teachers have at least had their own professional organizations to look out for their interests, and in general, those organizations have officially affirmed their support for desegregation. But at local and individual levels, teachers have seldom been brought into the planning for desegregation; they have simply been expected to carry out the plans, good and bad, that others have devised.

It is the 45 million public school students in the United States who have the most to gain or lose from the educational system, and the least to say about how it is operated. What is done in the schools is usually done *for* them or *to* them, and rarely in conjunction with them.

Given those facts, it is remarkable that schools work as well as they do. In every school system, there are teachers who cannot cope with the challenges confronting them, and students whose problems and needs are too great to be met with the resources at hand. But there are also many thousands of teachers and students whose extraordinary dedication and skill too often goes unnoticed and unappreciated.

The comments below, gathered in the course of this study of school desegregation in the South, give some indication of teacher and student insight into the achievements and problems of schools in a period of change.

"There is a great need to work on institutional desegregation problems within schools in the system," said a teacher in Florida. He continued:

> In many cases, teachers themselves perpetuate segregation within the schools and classrooms by exploiting "incidents" or by laissez-faire attitudes and behavior. Examples: teachers allowing blacks to sleep in class, blowing out of proportion playful incidents involving black and white students, not making blacks perform the same quality of work as whites, suspending or dismissing a much higher ratio of blacks than whites.

Another Florida teacher said that in his community, "only blacks were displaced by busing." He noted these additional problems: "very poor advance planning, too little consideration of educational programs for minority children, and inadequate teacher preparation."

In Mississippi, a teacher expressed this opinion:

> Ability grouping on the basis of standardized tests has caused a negative response from black students. They are not at liberty to choose various courses as they were five years ago, because of the utilization of these tests.

"What is so frustrating," said a Tennessee teacher, "is that when you get a good thing going, it doesn't spread — more often than not, it's considered a threat." In the inner-city school where she teaches, there have been a great many "good things going" since desegregation. White children are bused in to the school, and white parents have generally responded favorably to the change, but the teacher is concerned by what she sees as "hardened attitudes" and "an anti-kid philosophy" in the system. "The principals should be in charge of their schools," she says, "but they're not. We have a great principal, but her authority is too limited."

In Georgia, a teacher used his own children to illustrate his belief that desegregation involves sacrifice and takes time, but is essential:

> My oldest daughter, a senior, has been embittered by her negative experience with desegregation. My second daughter, a freshman, had a decidedly liberal attitude, because her experiences have been quite different. My son, who is in the sixth grade, is totally at ease about the whole thing — it's all quite natural to him. Considering everything, I have no doubt that the change we are making must be made. In the long run, there will be many more gains than losses.

A teacher in North Carolina described her job in these blunt words: "teaching is a dog's job." She spoke of unrealistic and ineffective preparation, difficult working conditions, low pay, low prestige, a rigid bureaucracy, and the excessive demands and expectations society places on its schools. Nevertheless, she said, "I'm very optimistic about the progress we've made since desegregation. I don't see how anybody could look at how far we've come and not be encouraged."

The comments of students are even more varied than those of teachers, if for no other reason than that their number is so much greater. Few attempts have been made anywhere to sample the opinions of students or to gather their ideas and suggestions about desegregation. The contributions of students to this study do not correct that weakness; here as elsewhere, more weight and more attention have been given to adults than to young people. Still, there is an element of student expression in this report, and from it, a few generalized observations can be made:

- Students who have been involved in desegregation are more favorable toward it than students who have not been involved;

- Students are more favorable toward desegregation than adults;
- Students in biracial schools are well aware of the difference between desegregation and integration, seeing the former as existing and the latter as yet to be accomplished;
- Students in elementary schools adjust more quickly and more completely to desegregation than students in junior and senior high schools;
- Students who are bused to school are more favorable toward busing than students who are not, and students generally are more positive about busing than adults.

There are, of course, many individual exceptions to these conclusions, but the overall pattern seems apparent: students in the South who have faced the challenge of desegregation have on the whole made a commendable and impressive adjustment — better, perhaps, than adults — and their collective performance tends to support desegregation as a necessary and proper educational goal. Many comments ranging across the entire spectrum of opinion could be quoted here; these words from a high school student in Florida seem to come as close as any to the prevailing view of students:

> The students here seem to accept desegregation and busing fairly well. All seem to depend on one another for friendship, and for scholastic help. For the most part, the students who object to these matters are secretive about their reasons, but every once in a while they change their objections to approval. To me, desegregation has greatly improved the way people think and act. I hope most people feel the way I do — positively. Education has improved, and in the long run, everything will improve.

At about the same time the Institute for Social Research was conducting its survey of school officials, the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta (SRC) was soliciting the opinions of more than 500 individuals in the region, to find out how they felt school desegregation had been handled in their communities. The SRC sample was not scientifically selected. It was drawn informally from a variety of sources: teachers, students, black and white elected officials, community people actively involved in public issues (especially education), the membership of the Southern Regional Council, and personal contacts of SRC staff members in eight of the 11 Southern states. As a group, the 505 individuals whose names made up the survey roster could probably be characterized as being favorably disposed to school desegregation, although that was by no means a requirement for inclusion.

By the last week of February, 158 of the questionnaires (31 percent) had been returned. There were four questions in the "Opinion Sample on School Desegregation." The first asked whether public schools in the individual respondent's community had been desegregated completely, partially, or not at all. The results: 47 percent said completely, 47.5 percent said partially, and 4.5 percent said not at all.*

The second question was identical to one asked of the superintendents and principals in the ISR survey: "Is the overall quality of education now being received by the students in your schools better than, worse than, or the same as five years ago?" In the SRC survey, 65 percent said the quality of education is better, 11.4 percent said it is worse, and 20 percent said it is unchanged from five years ago.

Respondents to the SRC survey were asked another question similar to one asked the superintendents and principals: "In your opinion, will the desegregation of your school system, in the long run, amount to an advantage that is in the best interest of the community, or a disadvantage having a negative effect on the community?" An overwhelming 92 percent said it would be advantageous in the long run; less than 6 percent (5.7) said it would have negative effect.

The final question dealt with busing: "In your opinion, considering the experience of your community, has busing to help achieve desegregation been a positive or a negative experience?" Twenty-four respondents said the busing issue did not apply to their communities. Of the remainder, 73 percent said it had been a positive experience, 19 percent said it had been negative, and 7 percent offered a mixed or inconclusive response.

Sixty-five of the respondents to the SRC questionnaire live in the same districts that were included in the ISR survey. While it is not possible to match the responses of superintendents and principals in a given district with the responses of individuals from the same district, the rough correlation of locales invites comparison of the responses to some of the questions.

On the question of whether or not the quality of education has improved since desegregation, 54 percent of the superintendents said it was better and 10 percent said it was worse (the rest said it was unchanged). Among the principals, 42 percent said it was better and 24 percent said it was worse. Of the 65 SRC respondents who live in communities included in the ISR survey, 63 percent said the quality of education was better and 9 percent said it was worse.

The question concerning the long-term effects of desegregation drew a negative response from 10 percent of the superintendents and principals; in the SRC survey, 63 of the 65 respondents to that question said the long-term effects would be positive.

Whatever may have been the predisposition toward desegregation of the individuals questioned by SRC, they seem strongly to value the experience of it positively. Only one in every 20 of them say the schools in their communities are still segregated; less than three of

**1 percent said the question was not applicable to their school district.*

every 20 say the quality of education has suffered as a result of desegregation; one of every 20 say the long-term effects will be harmful; and less than four of every 20 say busing has been a negative experience. In their written comments, however, the SRC respondents made it clear that desegregation is a process, not an end result, and they indicated some of the continuing problems as well as the achievements of their communities. Here are some examples:

I believe desegregation is an excellent tool if used properly. But the way students are being rejected and pushed out, it will take a lot more work to bring about the desired result.

The overall quality of education is worse, but I don't think it's because of desegregation.

As we observe events in the North, with respect to school desegregation, we are pleased to be able to state that we have successfully passed beyond that stage.

Within the last five years, the public school system here has integrated to an extent that has proven very beneficial to the black students in our community. Black students are now receiving adequate facilities, up-to-date books and other equipment that is essential in a learning institution. Before public school integration, our students had to work with whatever was convenient. Now they receive the very best of everything.

There appears to be an organized effort on the part of school administrators to decrease the number of black teachers in the system.

I am in total agreement with a unitary school system, but busing for the sake of integration is not the answer.

This city can achieve integrated schools much more easily than huge cities. It seems to me that where we have erred is in not building new schools smack in between racial residential areas. We are in the process of closing schools in the downtown area and building new ones on the periphery of the present population closer to white suburia. I do think we have put a number of problems behind us, though, and have done it better than has much of the North. I think the majority would vote *not* to undo school desegregation if that option were given to them.

I think busing is a legitimate tool to promote desegregation. However, I'm not so sure black people still want desegregation.

Our major problem is that of the existing housing patterns.

The white folks zoned to the "black" schools either attend another school with a predominantly white population or go to private school.

I am very happy to say, and tell the truth, our school is completely integrated. *All classes.* Football. Basketball. Band. Yes, every department, and we have not had any trouble. We have no complaint at all. We are using buses, too.

The school children in our system are "mixed," yes, but desegregated, no. The main problem is that there is no concern for the rights and wishes of the blacks in the system. Everything has been done to accommodate the whites so they would not leave the system — all at the expense of blacks.

We have been busing for about five years, and it has worked extremely well. All three of my children are bused, and attend schools formerly reserved for whites and completely closed to black students. As a result, they have educational opportunities formerly denied them, and are benefitted as a result. They are happy and enjoy the experience.

The only problem we need to work on in our system is to get more black students interested in improving study habits and participating in extracurricular activities.

We have lost the greater portion of our white students. Private schools have sprung up. Integrated neighborhoods have reverted to segregated ones.

I wish the Supreme Court had ordered that both Negro and white schools had to integrate. It was a grave error not to make busing a two-way street. If black education is inherently unequal, so is white education. I don't believe Negroes must sit next to white people in order to get a first-rate education. But I believe in desegregated schools and a desegregated society because that is what America is all about.

Though I feel that the plan ordered by the Federal District Court is inadequate, (leaving nearly one-third of the black student population in segregated schools) and though it is regrettable that several thousand whites left the system, I feel very strongly that those students who have been exposed to desegregation have greatly benefitted.

No significant upward climb. Problems, however, may not all be attributed to desegregation of schools. Neither black nor white students are receiving what they need in the public school system. In my opinion, the problems would prevail, even in a segregated situation. Poor public education!

As a black school board member and one who worked 28 years in the system, I can't grasp the reasons why our local teachers groups won't integrate. It amazes me: people in classrooms teaching the students that they should get along together, but yet the National Education Association had to bring the two state associations together, and the locals are still apart.

In my community public school system, about 80 percent of the white enrollment has gone into private schools or transferred across county lines into more

segregated schools. One elementary school here is still about 82 percent white, with white principal and faculty. Really, I think desegregation in my county is just a sham. What kind of a deal do you call this?

Every time you look around some black student is being put out of school for just small things, like for instance chewing gum in school. Put out two or three days. This is just pathetic.

Desegregation in our community has been a great success. No busing problems. It has brought the black and white closer together. We are all very proud things worked out so well.

Teacher attitudes prevent desegregation from really working. Students usually get along well. Teachers, especially whites, refuse to encourage black students, or to try to understand them and their problems.

This community is composed of almost the same type of living that occurred many long years ago. The plantation slavery system still exists here. Whites still separate themselves from blacks. When desegregation occurred, the whites opened a "Christian" school. In the public school, out of nearly 900 kids we have only 200 whites. So we really are still segregated.

Our students have made it work! Not the parents. Also, we are 73 percent black (I am white), and our school improves each day. I consider our school a model of how it can work.

No statistical tabulation could possibly convey the variety of opinions represented by these comments. School desegregation in the South is in the main an unfinished task. There are problems in abundance: poor teaching, discrimination in hiring, resegregation, white flight, one-way busing, rigid tracking, unfair administration of discipline. Some blacks have lost hope in desegregation, and some whites have never seen any hope in it. Yet for all the problems, there are also signs of growth and change and a dawning sense of equity in some places, and the dominant message of the ISR and SRC surveys seems to be this: the school systems which have made a fair and thorough effort to achieve complete desegregation are beginning to reap real benefits from the change. The ones which haven't made such an effort appear to be faced with mounting problems—problems that continued segregation are not apt to solve.

The case studies and profiles which follow next permit a closer look at the inner workings of the desegregation process.

School Desegregration and The Congress

The anti-busing elements of Congress have been playing a cat and mouse game with the courts over desegregation and busing for years. Conservative forces have attached various amendments to HEW appropriations bills and to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act every time it came up for an extension since 1972. The less conservative forces, however, have always in the past been able to limit the effectiveness of these provisions with nullifying language.

But recently, Congress passed an HEW appropriations bill, one provision of which states that none of the money for HEW may be used to require directly or indirectly the busing of any student beyond the "closest" school to his home. Ironically, President Ford — who opposes busing — vetoed the bill because it funded HEW $916 million over the administration's request. But both the House and Senate — liberals included — overrode his veto to make the bill law in January, 1976. The proviso in effect writes the "neighborhood school" concept into law and poses the tightest constraint yet on HEW. However, because most of the larger or more resistant school systems in the South are desegregating under court order instead of HEW actions, the effect in the region is minimal.

The frustrations of anti-busing forces over not being able to enact an effective law to stop busing or minimize desegregation have caused some to embrace the idea of amending the Constitution itself to prohibit busing. In October, 1975, hearings were held in the Senate on four such Constitutional amendments. President Ford, however, declined to come out in support of any of them, explaining he felt there had not been an adequate test in the Supreme Court to determine remedies short of changing the Constitution. Then in November, 1975, the House Democratic Caucus voted 172-96 to table, and thus kill, a move to force the House Judiciary Committee to report out an anti-busing Constitutional amendment. The tally shows that the ⅔ vote necessary to approve such an amendment could not be mustered and the issue is dead for the time being.

Southern School Desegregation and The Courts

While the overwhelming majority of the South's school systems desegregated under HEW pressure, federal courts in the South were very important not only because some 640 school systems desegregated under federal court order but also because court decisions were very influential in determining what requirements HEW would put on school systems as incremental changes in the law occurred year by year. Generally the court decisions, like the jurists in the South who graced the bench, have been fairly cautious and reserved. They have been limited to correction of conditions offensive to the Constitution, conditions such as the creation and maintenance of separate school buildings for black pupils. Where school boards refused to act, then courts had to step in to devise plans to either place white students and teachers in these schools or to close them.

In most of the county and rural systems desegregation was successfully achieved by the fall of 1970. In the last few years, these systems have been called into court to remedy second generation problems. For example, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, the federal appeals court handling the bulk of all school desegregation suits across the South, has held that black teachers, whose contracts were not renewed when the systems were converted to a unitary status, could be reinstated with back pay when the factors used to evaluate them were non-neutral and discriminatory. The appeals court has also disallowed the use of ability grouping of students where it resulted in resegregating students in racially identifiable classes and it could not be shown that such grouping was not the result of the inferior education black students had received previously. On the other hand, the court has held that a statistical showing of a disproportionate number of black students being suspended is insufficient to prove discrimination absent evidence of specific black and white students in similar circumstances receiving different treatment.

In city systems with no county-wide jurisdiction, as in Baton Rouge, Fort Worth, Houston, Knoxville, and Memphis, desegregation has not been completed. Attempts at further relief by lawyers for black children in Atlanta, Montgomery, Chattanooga, and New Orleans have been rebuffed.

Southern federal courts have not yet taken the step of requiring school desegregation across system lines in major cities, unsuccessful attempts having occurred in Richmond and Durham. However, another attempt is being made in Atlanta and in several non-urban situations in Texas and Missouri, interdistrict relief has been ordered.

Generally, the perceived public mood, bred by factors outside the South such as the resistance to desegregation in Boston and Louisville is making equal educational opportunity for black children more difficult to secure.

III Charlotte-Mecklenburg County, North Carolina: Following The Constitution

With grateful appreciation to all who have made possible this court's graduation from Swann, *it is therefore*

ORDERED:

1. *That this cause be removed from the active docket.*
2. *That the file be closed.*

This 11th day of July, 1975.

James B. McMillan
United States District Judge

Aside from *Brown v. Topeka*, no other school desegregation case in American history is better known than *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*. It kept North Carolina's largest city in court for 10 years. It led to the U.S. Supreme Court's unanimous ruling on April 20, 1971, that bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation is constitutionally permissible. It resulted, finally, in an approximate balance of black and white children in each of the public schools in Charlotte-Mecklenburg County.

Last July, in an anticlimactic final order appropriately labeled "Swann Song," the federal judge in whose court the case had originated noted that, "though continuing problems remain as hangovers from previous active discrimination, defendants are actively and intelligently addressing these problems without court intervention." The time had come, said Judge James B. McMillan, for "closing the suit as an active matter of litigation."

Neither Judge McMillan nor anybody else in Mecklenburg County apparently believes that the schools there are now completely free of all racial problems traceable to the era of segregation. What *is* widely believed is that significant change has taken place, that equality under the law is now an achievable goal, and that there is in the school system—and to a lesser extent in the community—an attitude of positive willingness to make desegregation work.

After years of friction and turmoil, Charlotte seemed at the end of 1975 to be at least resigned to, and at most quite comfortable with, a state of affairs that few cities have fully experienced: stability, progress, busing and racial balance in the public schools. McMillan's "Swann Song" does not signal a happy ending to a tale of trouble, but it does appear to mark a hopeful new beginning in the long pursuit of equal educational opportunity.

It has indeed been a long journey. In the 1950s, when an education official labeled North Carolina "the school-busingest state in the Union," all of the schools, including the ones in Charlotte, were completely segregated by race. The Charlotte and Mecklenburg County school systems were merged in 1960, three years after black students—five of them—were permitted for the first time to transfer to previously all-white schools. By 1965, when black plaintiffs initiated the *Swann* litigation, the school systems, under a plan calling for a combination of freedom of choice, zoning, and the closing of several black schools, was still using what the Charlotte *Observer* later called "busing to achieve an arbitrary racial balance—or, more precisely, an arbitrary racial imbalance, for the sought-after ratio of blacks in white schools was usually around zero."

Over the next four years, little changed, in the schools or in the courts. Finally, in April, 1969, McMillan issued his first decision in the case. The schools, he found, were deliberately and overwhelmingly segregated, in violation of the law and the Constitution. He told the school board it had an "affirmative duty" to correct the situation.

In the atmosphere of a building national resistance to school busing, the order of the court rocked Charlotte on its heels, and reaction was swift. The decision was denounced by the school board chairman, attorney William E. Poe, and by numerous local organizations, including the Classroom Teachers Association. A large group of white citizens formed a protest organization, the Concerned Parents Association (CPA). Sign-carrying pickets gathered at the U.S. post office and courthouse, and on the lawn of McMillan's home. Ministers assailed school busing from the pulpit, the Charlotte *News* condemned the judge—an establishment lawyer in Charlotte before his appointment to the federal bench in 1968—and 80,000 signatures were accumulated on anti-busing petitions.

Throughout the remainder of 1969 and the first eight months of 1970, the school board was in and out of court pursuing a variety of appeals and delaying tactics, and the community remained in a state of high agitation. The court appointed John A. Finger, Jr., a consultant from Rhode Island, to draw up a complete desegregation plan, and McMillan ordered the plan implemented in the fall of 1970. Three candidates of the CPA, meanwhile, won election to the school board, and the first year of large-scale pupil reassignment and busing was marred by boycotts, white flight to private schools, and violence. The law offices of Julius A. Chambers,* attorney for the black parents, were burned in February, 1971, and his father's garage and service station in nearby Mt. Gilead were set afire

*In addition to being attorney for the plaintiffs, Chambers is also President of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and a member of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

twice in the six months prior to that. (Earlier, in 1965, Chambers' automobile was dynamited while he was attending a civil rights rally, and bombs were exploded at his home and the homes of three other black leaders in Charlotte.) Threats against Judge McMillan became so numerous and so intense that federal marshals were assigned to protect him.

The Supreme Court's decision in 1971 affirming McMillan's rulings in the case can be seen in retrospect as the turning point in organized white protest, but it was two more years before the first signs of community acceptance of desegregation began to appear. By the fall of 1973, a subtle shift had taken place: expressions of dissatisfaction focused more on instability and inequity than on busing and desegregation. The Citizens Advisory Group, a coalition of whites and blacks of various ideological persuasions, was formed to devise a new plan, one that would distribute the burdens of change more equitably, and McMillan ordered the reluctant school board to give its full cooperation to that effort.

What eventually emerged was a new compromise—and yet another realignment of the schools. It was implemented in the fall of 1974, with the blessing of the court, and that is the plan under which Charlotte's schools now operate.

By the time McMillan closed the books on *Swann*, Mecklenburg County voters had elected one black and four white moderates to the school board. Chairman William Poe said it was time to "put this case, and this whole episode, behind us." Jane Scott, William H. Booe and Tom Harris, the three board members who had been elected earlier with the backing of the CPA, expressed misgivings about the ruling—Harris said McMillan was "holding out an olive branch with a machine gun behind it"—but the consensus seemed to be that Charlotte had at last reached a watershed, a new status quo. The most frequently used word was "stability."

Half-way through the second year of its "new stability," Charlotte was adapting slowly to the changed circumstances, and the principal figures in its decade-long school controversy were able to look back and measure the gains and losses. On balance, the gains seemed predominant.

Between 1968 and 1975, public school enrollment declined from about 85,000 to 78,000 (the net loss resulting from 10,000 fewer whites and 3,000 more blacks), and the black proportion of the total increased from 29 to 35 percent. Private schools in the community increased in number from 17 to 31 during the same period, and in enrollment from about 2,500 to about 7,500. Most of the white decline, however, occurred during the first two years of desegregation; total enrollment in the fall of 1975 was up for the first time in five years, and school officials now estimate that students returning from the private schools outnumber those who leave to enter them.

With a few exceptions, all of the system's 106 schools have a black enrollment of 25 to 45 percent—within 10 points of the county-wide black percentage. The exceptions—an isolated rural school and a handful of "walk-in" schools that were desegregated without busing—include two which have a bare majority of blacks. More importantly, it is generally felt that all schools at comparable grade levels are approximately equal in equipment and facilities, curriculum, programs, and personnel. There have been complaints, however, that some all-black and all-white classes still exist.

The number of pupils bused to school has increased in the past seven years from roughly 30,000 to 48,000, and the cost of pupil transportation has doubled (from about a half-million dollars to a million). But busing costs still amount to less than 2 percent of the school budget, and a substantial part of the increase in riders is not attributable to desegregation but to a change in state law extending bus service to many city residents.

Racial conflicts erupted into violence in several secondary schools in the first three years of desegregation, when community tensions were high, but there have been no serious incidents since then. Expulsions and suspensions also increased sharply in the early years, but expulsions were down to 11 in 1974-75 (from 106 in 1971-72), and in 1975-76 there has been a marked reduction in the number of suspensions. The proportion of disciplinary cases involving blacks, however, is almost twice as high as the proportion of blacks in the total enrollment, and that is a matter of continuing concern.

In the classrooms, there has been a shift to more individualized instruction, and in general, some expansion and improvement of curricular offerings. Scores from standardized tests administered annually in grades three, six and nine dropped "appreciably" between 1970 and 1973, according to the school system's supervisor of testing, Betsy Hailey. In 1974, she notes, the scores stabilized, and a year later they showed slight improvement in grades six and nine and a significant rise in grade three. (In 1969, blacks consistently scored from one to five grades below whites on the same tests.) School officials are careful not to attach any special importance to these results yet, especially with regard to desegregation. "We don't have a long enough view to tell whether all of the changes we've made have helped educationally or not," said Betty Stovall, director of the school system's program for gifted and talented students. "It may only be possible to compare generations of students. For the short run, all we've got to go on is hunches, opinions, and mixed experiences." One of her "hunches" is that "integration offers the only way to make full use of every student's potential. Talent and ability and potential can be developed in separate educational situations, but the most can be done for the most students under integration."

The intense public interest in school board deliberations that started when desegregation was the principal agenda item has continued unabated into the "post-*Swann*" period. School board meetings are held every two weeks, and are broadcast live and in their entirety by the local public television station; the home audience

usually is substantial, even though the meetings are held during prime-time evening hours and sometimes last until midnight. Board meetings are sometimes held in local schools, with several hundred people present. The board members receive $300 a month for their services, and some of them devote virtually full time to the job.

The systematic and sustained use by educators of students in Charlotte's desegregation process and an active, highly visible campaign to involve parents at every level in the school system are two of the most striking features of what has taken place and continues to take place in this community.

During the late 60s, while desegregation was at a trickle in Charlotte, violence between students from opposing schools occurred often, particularly at athletic events. Spurred by the near fatal shooting of one student by a youth from a rival school, the superintendent, at that time, organized a system-wide student group called the Student Coordinating Council. Concerned that the group be representative of the actual racial, sexual, economic, and social make-up of the system, the superintendent devised a formula whereby each high school would send two permanent representatives to serve on the Council. One representative would come from the student council and one would be chosen by the faculty or appointed by the principal or elected by the entire student body. In order to insure a representative mix, on some occasions the superintendent's office added other students to the Council.

The group, initially concerned with intra-racial student strife, arranged and conducted visits to different schools for student "rap sessions," and advised the central administration on preventing and handling violence.

Upon receipt of Judge McMillan's now famous order, the administration again turned to the Student Coordinating Council for advice and direction and as a vehicle for communicating factual information to students on pending changes as a result of the court order. Such issues as integrating cheering squads, athletic teams, effective means for communicating to students, etc., were taken to the SCC for advice. Simultaneously with securing the advice and opinions of the SCC, the administration surveyed students throughout the system and found that, with the exception of rare and somewhat insignificant cases, the opinions and answers of those surveyed and the SCC were the same. Consequently, principals were advised to channel information through their football or basketball teams or majorettes as vehicles for rumor control. Principals were directed to devise systems for guaranteeing proportional representation of all races of students, resulting in systems that often included a combination of elections and appointments with equal status.

Stimulated by their involvement with the SCC and personal interest, a small interracial group of students, focusing on students who were not maintaining an interest in the SCC and/or were not involved through the SCC, initiated another, more informal organization of students. This group of students sought as its primary source of support community groups and individuals outside of the system, while developing and maintaining informal ties to the administration. Calling itself "Project Aries"—the birth sign of one of its conceivers, a black student, Aries, sought to channel the benefit of positive race relations between some students to students throughout the high school and junior high school communities.

Both groups are well organized, with an adult sponsor and advisors, and both carry out their own programs, while remaining on standby to be called upon by individual schools or the entire system to aid in crisis prevention or intervention. Both receive high marks within their school system, particularly from students. The groups are also nationally recognized by children's rights and youth involvement advocates and by official education agencies, including the U.S. Office of Education, which in 1974 awarded Project Aries a "special" youth involvement grant of about $10,000 to carry on its work. Subsequent to the student involvement and initiatives of students and the administration, other groups within the community, such as the Charlotte Bicentennial Commission and all of the PTAs (which have since changed their names to PTSAs) are involving young people in their plans and programs. Charlotte's student efforts have also aided youth themselves, according to school officials, through their attempts and apparent successes, at utilizing peer strengths in dealing with an assortment of academic and race relations and "generation gap" problems in the schools and community.

Preceding desegregation a few church groups were provided volunteers to assist teachers in a small number of Charlotte schools. Faced with the almost hysterical state of many adults throughout the community, the school system's administrative staff, in conjunction with the PTA, decided to respond to the concerns and anxieties of parents through the creative channeling of parents' energies into the school system. The PTA in 1970 secured a $71,000 desegregation assistance grant (ESAA) from the U.S. Office of Education with which it hired coordinators to go out into communities and identify parents who would be willing to be tutors, to read to students, etc. Once parents and other adults came into the schools and saw that their fears of safety for their children were groundless, they started to filter back to being actively involved in school activities. (Participation had slacked off during the prolonged legal battle over desegregation.) Eventually the funds ran out, but the idea had taken root and thus continued as before. In fact, according to school system records, 8,000 parents and community people volunteered to help out in the schools in school year 1974-75.

College students and persons from industry also were solicited for their various talents to come to the schools and speak with the children about useful or interesting things and experiences that had happened to them.

After initial fears were removed as a result of desegre-

gation, parents and community persons became committed to helping the children and becoming actively involved. Mothers whose children were in school or already out started taking training so that they might help out in the schools.

Parents were used to tutor, help slow learners, and develop relationships with the children in order to break down the barriers. Parents who had previous office skills or experience assisted in the school offices and also helped to type papers for the teachers' class plans.

A book was published by parents listing those who could be called on for advice in various areas of education and who would come into the school and give "talks" in their particular field of interest.

Parents were involved in the curriculum planning process so that better understanding could be gained as to what children were being taught. Parents could thus give input, make changes, and have a "voice" in what they wanted their children to be taught.

All in all, there apparently is a general sense of satisfaction in Charlotte that a measure of calm has finally come to the schools, and that some educational progress is now being made. If whites remain overwhelmingly opposed to busing—and one close observer of local attitudes guesses that 80 percent of them would say they are—blacks in the community apparently are not. Busing aside, the proponents and opponents in both races acknowledge that full desegregation is the governing fact in the schools, and almost all of them expect it to remain so. "People are tired of fussing and fighting," said Ed Sanders, one of the school system's associate superintendents. "We've got a pretty equitable plan, a stable plan, and we're making progress. It may not be what everybody would want, but it's working, and I think the dominant feeling in the community now is, let's get on with it."

What the schools now struggle to "get on with," for all its imperfections, is a new order based on the principle of equity. Separate educational facilities, the Supreme Court concluded in the *Brown* case, are "inherently unequal"—not because blacks are inferior to whites, but because whites, in controlling and imposing segregation, have systematically skewed things to their own advantage. Charlotte is trying to correct that systemic bias. It no longer has racially identifiable schools. It has brought the races together in a single system without diminishing the number or percentage of black teachers and administrators. It has established the presence across the board of blacks in what were white schools and whites in what were black schools. It has, under Superintendent Rolland W. Jones—now in his third year on the job—a central administrative staff that is biracial.

From all of this, one overriding and ironic conclusion can be drawn: whites, who complained the most about desegregation, have gained much from it, and seemingly lost nothing; and blacks, who complained the least, have likewise gained much but also made the most sacrifices and carried the heaviest burden of change.

The gains for whites have been mainly social: they now have an opportunity to overcome a pervasive condition of "cultural deprivation" that has shielded them from a realistic understanding and appreciation of the black minority. Conversely, there is nothing in the record to indicate that whites have suffered academically. To be sure, many whites have been inconvenienced, and, particularly in the early stages of desegregation, some of them faced physical threats and bodily harm. But in the main, what whites have lost is an advantage—an unconstitutional advantage—accorded to them by the society solely because of their race.

Blacks, on the other hand, must weigh their gains—better academic opportunities, improved chances for success in the larger society, and so forth—against some specific and disproportionately great sacrifices. They too, of course, have known inconvenience and physical danger. Black youngsters in the first four years of school are bused far more than whites, and over the course of their school careers they are required for many years to ride relatively more miles than Charlotte whites. For whatever reasons—and the reasons are too complicated to be attributed entirely to racial discrimination—blacks are far more likely than whites to be punished in school. Blacks make up one-fourth of the professional staff of the school system, as they did before desegregation, but blacks comprise more than one-third of the student population. And finally, the conversion of all schools to majority-white status has required blacks to surrender the few places in which they could be assured of identity, recognition and a degree of control. They have opportunities for those rewards now, but no assurances; with the end of segregation has come an end to racial sanctuaries—for both races.

Still, the adjustment from old to new circumstances is continuing. There is every reason to believe that the transition will not be complete for some years to come; but there is a rude consensus—or at least a sense of resigned acceptance—that appears to support the general direction of movement and change. The population of Mecklenburg County has maintained its rate of growth (from 275,000 to about 400,000 in the past 15 years) and its white-black ratio (75-25). Local and state politicians generally looked the other way during Charlotte's school crisis—a stance that had the questionable virtue of being neither helpful nor destructively harmful — but now their ranks include some blacks, and their collective leadership is somewhat more positive. The school board, whose earlier behavior during almost 20 federal court encounters can fairly be described as obstructionist and defiant, now appears to be looking positively to the future, and at least six of its nine members seem to accept the permanence and finality of desegregation. Here and there in the city, there is evidence of some desegregation in housing, and substantial improvement in job opportunities for blacks. The city, under the pressure of a lawsuit, has turned to scattered-site public housing construction in an effort to prevent the creation of new ghettos for the poor.

The reconstruction of the school system was, and

is, the key element in Charlotte's long and continuing movement toward equality under the law. Change began in the schools, and it is still underway there; now it is moving gradually into other areas of community life. Hardly anyone disputes that anymore. What people do disagree about is the pace and the direction of it. The attitudes and opinions of a few Charlotte citizens are illustrative of the differences.

To school board member William Booe, a steadfast opponent of busing, "the whole thing has failed miserably." To Margaret Ray, a central figure in the biracial Citizens Advisory Group whose participatory democracy tactics led to the current desegregation plan, "a great thing has happened here. We've really grown and changed—in attitudes, in beliefs. We've got a lot of problems left, real problems, but we've come a long way, and we're moving in the right direction." To Jim Postell, actively and outspokenly against busing in the early days and still "bitter" about the changes, "this is the cross of the day, that black and white people have got to learn to live together. But it's a hard thing. Black and white is hard." Within the schools there are, by most accounts, individual examples of resentment and hostility, and overall, a growing atmosphere of acceptance and respect.

Finally, three other viewpoints seem especially pertinent to what has happened in Charlotte, and to what may happen there in the future.

William Poe, the school board chairman, has served on the board for 12 years. During that time, while he was leading the opposition to court-ordered desegregation, all six of his children were in the public schools. Now, all but one of them has graduated, and Poe, in December, was considering whether or not to run for re-election. About the busy years of his tenure, he was quietly reflective:

"You have to view all of this in a broader perspective than just schools. Overall, I think it's been good for the community. It took school desegregation to make us see that you don't build new slums with concentrated public housing, or allow public transportation to become an all-black bus system or build parks where they are inaccessible to people. I don't like the ratio concept, but it does bring into focus what's fair, what's equitable. In the schools, we also have to take a broader view. I thought at the outset that Judge McMillan was going entirely too far, and in many ways, I still think so. Much of this community has been alienated by what he has done. But shifting from the practical to the philosophical, trying to see things in some historical perspective, I'd hazard a guess that desegregation was clearly necessary and bound to come, and he speeded up the pace of it, and I think he'll be vindicated on that score. Things are smoother now, and working better than I thought they would be. There would be no way to undo all of what we've done, not even with a constitutional amendment, and I'm not even sure there would be the will to do that. I fight off the temptation to be smug about Boston. I think it's a fair prediction that in another generation, the South may have all the desegregation there is—and be glad of it. It may even be that the only viable cities in years to come will be cities like Charlotte, which have settled the race issue."

Julius Chambers, the soft-spoken attorney who persevered and finally was victorious in the *Swann* case, thinks the fruits of that victory still have not been harvested—but will be. "Comparatively speaking," he says, "it has worked well. There are some problems, but given time, I think they will jell. Students and parents appear to be adjusting, and there's not a political problem now. Compared to 1970, there's been real progress. The problems? In the board and staff, there are some who stress obeying the law, but not commitment to an integrated school system. The representation of blacks on the board and staff is still token, and the blacks often don't have real authority. There are areas of weakness among principals and counselors, and some departments are virtually all-white, and some teachers have complained of discrimination in promotion and placement. Grouping and tracking is also a problem; there are some all-white and all-black classes, and EMR (educable mentally retarded) classes have a disproportionate ratio of blacks. But all in all, many blacks see what they have now as a better deal for them. I think only a small percentage of blacks would prefer majority-black schools to this. With the kids, I think there is a growing respect, an appreciation for each other as human beings. The elementary generation now—they're the ones. They have no hangups like we do, no self-consciousness or defensiveness about race."

James B. McMillan thinks of his time on the bench in the *Swann* case as a valuable part of his education. "Like most people, I just assumed we had been moving toward desegregation," he recalls. "I really had no idea how pervasive the discrimination was at first. There are people who don't understand the extent of it yet—and some of them are on the board. I haven't got the slightest regret about what I did. When you take the government out of the business of perpetuating discrimination, drawing lines, causing race strife, then you've done as much as you can do. I think we're coming through it amazingly well. There are still kids who can't read, who aren't happy, who want their old schools back—but those problems were not created by observing the law."

What will be the consequences of *Swann* for Charlotte? "I think the consequences will be good: a greater respect for the law," McMillan says. "The actions of public officials are short-term—they do what they do because they think that's what people like and want. But the Constitution is long-term, and a judge must go by it, despite all. In the long run, the majority will have its way, but it's a slow, orderly, lawful process—and it has served us very well."

It was Judge McMillan's unyielding determination to follow the Constitution that brought Charlotte at last into compliance with the law, and allowed its schools to turn from racial considerations to educational

ones. In his final order concluding *Swann*, McMillan wrote:

> Ghosts continue to walk. For example, some perennial critics here and elsewhere are interpreting Professor James Coleman's latest dicta in support of the notion that courts should abandon their duty to apply the law in urban school desegregation cases. Coleman is worried about "white flight," they say; school desegregation depends on Coleman; therefore, the courts should bow out. . .
>
> The local School Board members have not followed that siren. Perhaps it is because they realize that this court's orders, starting with the first order of April 23, 1969, are based, not upon the theories of statisticians, but upon the Constitution of the United States. . .

IV Williamsburg County, South Carolina: "We Have Come A Million Miles"

By virtually every statistical indicator available in 1970, school desegregation and quality education seemed like hopeless prospects for Williamsburg County, South Carolina.

Sprawled over 935 square miles of Carolina low country a long hour's drive southeast of Columbia, the county had a population that was mostly black, poor, rural and undereducated. It had lost 7,000 people (down to a total of 34,000) since the 1960 census. Median family income was about $1,750 a year, near the bottom of the state and national economic heap, and about two-thirds of the families earned less than $3,000 a year. Two out of every three residents were black, and their median family income was barely more than $1,000 a year. The average educational level of all adults was 7.4 grades, and 30 percent of the people over age 25 had completed less than five years of schooling. Cotton had long since given way to tobacco, tobacco was losing ground to corn and soybeans, and agriculture in general was in decline, without enough new industry to prevent high unemployment. Public school enrollment had fallen to 10,000 and was 76 percent black, with the flight of whites to private schools outpacing the migration of blacks to urban areas in search of jobs. Segregation was still the rule rather than the exception in the schools, yet in the system as a whole, the number of students who dropped out of high school was twice as high as the number who graduated and went on to college, and tests of seventh graders indicated that the vast majority were reading and ciphering at a level well below their grade placement.

Williamsburg County at the prompting of HEW had begun a modest shift toward school desegregation in 1965, and in 1968 it had established a kindergarten program and set in motion a long-range plan to reorganize and upgrade its elementary schools. But in the fall of 1970, when it initiated a federally-approved plan intended to result in total desegregation, about 800 whites withdrew at once, total enrollment fell by more than 1,000 students, and it appeared likely that the schools would soon be left to struggle along ineffectively with a woefully unprepared, overwhelmingly black, totally poor student body.

In Williamsburg County today, there is still much poverty, unemployment and segregation—by economic class as well as race. But in the public schools, desegregation is firmly established, and both white and black students, particularly in the elementary grades, are responding positively to a comprehensive program of high-quality instruction. The school system now has an abundance of test data to show that most students are consistently reducing the learning deficit they brought with them to kindergarten. Prior to 1968, first-graders there began school with an average mental-age deficit of about three years (based on national norms), and most of them fell further behind the longer they stayed in school. In significant contrast, the students who entered kindergarten in 1968 were able, seven years later, to post median test scores ranking them within one year of their proper grade level.

In short, Williamsburg County is a majority-black, majority-poor rural school district of 21 schools which has brought blacks and whites together in the same schools and made dramatic improvements in the quality of instruction and learning for both races. "We haven't arrived yet, not by far," says Mary Harper, the director of early childhood education, "but we have come a million miles."

Considering the economic facts of life in Williamsburg, the transformation of the school system seems all the more remarkable. For generations, the county had white supremacy superimposed upon an economic structure in which a small ruling elite dominated the poverty-ridden masses. The supremacy divided strictly along racial lines, of course, but the economic separations were somewhat different: there were a few blacks who weren't poor, and a good many whites who were. Until recent years, racial considerations were clearly dominant, but when the barriers of segregation were breached—specifically, when desegregation of the schools began—it was money more than anything else that divided people. Whites with any economic leverage at all could—and often did—seek sanctuary from integration in the newly created private academies. Even the few blacks with money enough to afford private schools had no such option.

In 1964, the year before the first black students entered previously all-white schools, more than 3,600 of the 13,000-plus students in the Williamsburg public schools were white; 10 years later, the white enrollment had shrunk to less than 1,800. During those years, the total enrollment went from 73 to 81 percent black. But numerically, the total of black students fell from over 9,000 to just over 7,400. While affluent whites were fleeing to the private schools or leaving the county altogether, poverty-stricken blacks were fleeing racism and the lack of job opportunities—and leaving in even greater numbers than whites.

The school system, then, not only faced the task of eliminating racial segregation; it also had to contend with the problem of increasing segregation and isolation of the poor in the schools, and a serious overall decline in both white and black students.

R. C. Fennell, the superintendent of schools since 1958 and a teacher and administrator in the system for 12 years prior to that, recognized the inevitability of school desegregation long before it came to Williamsburg County, and so, apparently, did a majority of the 10-member school board. From the beginning, compliance with federal desegregation directives was voluntary, without the necessity of the court appearances or even the hiring of an attorney. When the first black students entered previously all-white schools in 1965, Fennell and the board began to think in terms of making some fundamental changes in the instructional program to coincide with desegregation, and they turned to the federal government for the necessary funds to get the job done.

By 1968, fully 40 percent of the school system's $4 million operating budget was supplied by federal dollars (the state supplied 50 percent, and the remaining 10 percent came from the tax-poor local government). That same year, Mary Harper was hired to begin the kindergarten program, and that became the first phase of a long-range plan to completely overhaul the elementary grades.

"It would have been a mistake," Fennell says now, "to have desegregated the schools without making other basic changes in the educational programs at the same time. We could see that many changes needed to take place. We needed to strengthen and support the teaching staff, get away from the self-contained classroom, concentrate on reading and mathematics. It was a most opportune time to make changes. Desegregation was unavoidable; the law had to be complied with. We complied—and at the same time we turned our attention to the elementary grades and to the individual child. I think many people—the great majority—now see that we did what we thought was right. In time, I think they'll see it *was* right."

Beginning with the new kindergarten program in 1968 and adding a grade a year through grade six, the school system has totally remodeled the primary and elementary structure. The Continuous Progress Program, as it is called, is essentially an ungraded, individualized, sequential plan for the development of basic skills. It involves team teaching, frequent assessment, a variety of supportive resources (books, materials, audio-visual aids and the like) and the assistance of teacher aides. Funded by Title I of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the program is the central feature of Williamsburg County's long-range strategy to achieve desegregation and quality education.

The results, as seen in standardized test scores and other kinds of assessment, are remarkable. For example, the pattern by which many students began school with serious learning deficits and fell steadily further behind the national average has been not only halted, but reversed. Scores from a statewide battery of tests in the fall of 1975 showed that Williamsburg seventh-graders who had been in the Continuous Progress Program since kindergarten performed at a median grade placement level of 6.2—just one year below the norm for all seventh-graders nationally. (When the scores of all of the county's seventh-graders were compiled—including some who had not been in Continuous Progress—the median score was 5.1.) The same test, administered in 1971, resulted in a 4.0 median score for Williamsburg seventh-graders, none of whom had had the benefit of the special program. Other findings: the beginning deficits and subsequent gains are proportionately similar for blacks and whites; the average beginning deficit of three years has been reduced to two; and one class—the kindergarteners of 1973—reduced its median deficit from two years to two months by the end of the first grade.

"I won't be satisfied," says Mary Harper, "until every child entering the seventh grade is performing at or above the sixth grade level. Not the *average* child, but *every child*. That's the minimum. If they can function at that level, they can function in the world. Give the same test to adults, and you'll see what I mean. Already, we have no children entering seventh grade from the Continuous Progress Program who can't read or do basic mathematical computations. I know some high schools that can't make such a claim for their graduates."

University of Alabama education professor Milly Cowles, who with her colleague, Kathryn Daniel, has conducted continuous evaluations of the program since its beginning, says flatly that "no other school district in the United States has made a better record of educational improvement than Williamsburg County."

The simultaneous pursuit of desegregation and educational improvement has turned out to be an effective strategy for Williamsburg County, and now there is some concrete evidence for both blacks and whites that their basic needs are being served. These are some of the indicators of progress cited by school officials:

- In the fall of 1975, white enrollment in the public schools increased for the first time in more than 10 years, reaching a total of about 1,850 (after an all-time low of 1,780 the previous year). There is also some indication that the decline in black enrollment may be slowing down. The result of these developments could mean some long-awaited stability, and perhaps even modest growth, for the school system.
- In the years between 1968 and 1975, while the public schools were losing about 2,500 students, pupil-teacher ratios were reduced, expenditures per pupil were increased, and the annual operating budget of the system doubled, from $4 million to $8 million. (The state still provides 50 percent and the federal government 40 percent of the funds.) The school system has about the same number of professional staff members—approximately 800—as it had seven years ago, and with a per pupil expenditure of $900 it now ranks 30th among the 92 South Carolina school systems.
- In the process of desegregation, Williamsburg has effected some consolidation of schools, but it has not closed its formerly all-black schools — a common

practice in many places—and it has not reduced the number of black teachers and administrators in its professional ranks. Now as before, about 62 percent of its principals, teachers and other professionals are black.

- By eliminating the parallel bus routes that segregated school necessitated, the school system is actually operating fewer buses now than in 1970 (124 compared to 131), although the total daily mileage has increased by about 10 percent.
- Discipline in the schools, still a matter of serious controversy in many places, has not been an especially critical problem in Williamsburg. The number of suspensions annually is a low 4 percent of the total enrollment, and the ratio of blacks to whites suspended corresponds closely to the enrollment ratio. The number of explosions in 1974-75 was only nine, compared to 20 in 1970-71. Another statistic of interest: there were 71 high school dropouts in 1974-75, compared to 129 four years earlier.
- About one in every four Williamsburg high school graduates now goes on to some form of higher education—still not an impressive figure, comparatively speaking, but substantially above the 12 percent who continued their studies in 1968.

Two of the 21 public schools in Williamsburg County still have virtually all-black student bodies, and that fact was for a time a matter of some concern to the federal officials monitoring the desegregation process. Superintendent Fennell says they are located in areas of the county where no whites live, and "an unreasonable amount of busing" would be required to desegregate them: "I got Peter Holmes, the director of the Office for Civil Rights, to come down here and ride over the county with me, so I could show him the problem. There's nothing wrong with busing, but it should be governed by what is reasonable. We try to keep our one-way rides to a maximum of about 45 minutes, and we couldn't do that at those two schools. Holmes saw my point, and he approved. He's a nice fellow, a reasonable man. I liked him." The two schools have the same ratio of black to white faculty as all others in the system, and by most indicators, their programs and services appear to be equalized.

Columbus Giles, formerly the principal of a black elementary school in the system and now deputy superintendent for personnel and instruction, believes that in spite of the few remaining vestiges of segregation, "we have a unitary system." He adds: "Not every black parent and student, or every white one, is elated with everything that's going on, but generally, I think we have equalized and improved educational opportunity, and developed an appreciation and respect for one another as people. I really think we have no more racial problems, as such. Our biggest problem now is getting enough resources to do the educational job that needs to be done."

The deputy superintendent for federally funded programs, E. R. Reeves, agrees with that assessment, and points specifically to the changing pattern of federal funding as a matter of deep concern: "Our grants from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—the money we use for our Continuous Progress Program—are down to $900,000 a year, from a high of $1.5 million. It would be impossible for us to replace that support with funds from other sources. The potential loss of federal support is a very serious and immediate problem for us."

Giles and Reeves acknowledge that proportionately more blacks than whites in the schools are deficient in academic preparation, and while recent gains made by blacks have been for the most part as substantial as the gains whites have made, there is still a measurable gap between the academic performance of whites and blacks.

Another continuing problem—one that the public school officials don't like to discuss—concerns the private schools. There are about five of them in and around Williamsburg County, all created as a direct result of desegregation, and their emergence caused a polarization in the county that to a degree still exists. The whites who gave their support to the private schools claimed at first that they would be the wave of the future. Those claims have now been weakened by the evidence of improving quality in the public schools, and by the apparent beginning of a reversal of the white exodus. In Kingstree, the county seat, the all-white Williamsburg Academy reported an enrollment of 612 in all 12 grades in the fall of 1975—the same total it reported the previous year. A private academy in Hemingway, the second largest town in the county, has fewer students now than it had six years ago—141 compared to 150—while the public schools there have a total of 1,452 students, 50 percent of whom are white.

At Hemingway Middle School, serving grades four through eight, there are equal numbers of white and black students in the enrollment of 546, and the faculty is also about evenly mixed. The principal, J. Morgan Gray, is black. He began teaching in Williamsburg County 17 years ago. "We're better off with desegregated schools," he says. "Our seventh-graders now have a higher degree of basic knowledge than my ninth-graders did 10 or 15 years ago. All of our seventh-graders can read and do simple math. As a group, the black kids are still behind the whites academically, and more blacks than whites drop out, but the differences are small and the gap is closing. This used to be an all-black school. The changes that have taken place here might have happened anyway, had all things been equal, but they weren't — the preparation of teachers, the building and equipment, the reputation, the curriculum, the books—all those things were unequal. They could have been made equal over time, but it would have been costly, wasteful, duplicative, and this county could never have afforded them. Everything considered, what we're doing now is best for everybody."

That feeling—that "what we're doing is best for everybody"—seems slowly to be taking hold in Williamsburg County. Contrasting patterns of separa-

tion and cooperation are still apparent: there are more blacks in the various levels of employment than ever before, but there are still houses they cannot buy and clubs and churches they cannot join; one of the three local members of the state legislature and two of the ten members of the school board are black but most of the money and all of the power in the county is still in white hands; no surface tensions between blacks and whites are apparent now, but private conversations reveal wounds that have not healed. Yet for all that, there is obviously an acceptance, however grudging, of the new reality: desegregation is now the governing fact of life.

More than any other community institution, the school system is responsible for that. R.C. Fennell, a popular man and a powerful figure (the schools are, after all, the county's largest employer), succeeded in persuading the school board to accept desegregation without a fight, and it is a measure of Fennell's popularity with a majority of both races that he has been reelected without serious opposition twice since then. From the beginning, Fennell has seen desegregation as an opportunity rather than a threat, and his positive attitude has gradually prevailed. "We could not have made these vital changes if it had not been for desegregation," he says now, adding: "Wasn't it a wonderful time to implement a new program?" Elsewhere in the schools, people like Columbus Giles and E. R. Reeves are convinced that black and white youngsters who go through school together will benefit not just educationally but also socially. "They'll know more about each other," says Reeves, "and when they become adults, they'll be better citizens than our generation." And for her part, Mary Harper says, "I personally believe that the best thing that ever happened to the public schools was the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation. We're very slow to internalize it, slow to change our attitudes and our behavior, but the changes are taking place, and we'll be the better for them."

Fennell has no illusions about desegregation as a panacea for all the problems of Williamsburg County and its school system. He often repeats his assertion that desegregation alone, without parallel improvements in the educational structure, would have accomplished little. He acknowledges the continuing and pervasive existence of poverty in the county, and of separation and miscommunication across race lines. But at the same time, he has seen some of his dreams and expectations realized, and he confidently expects to see more.

"It's going to be a long time before the job is done," he says, "but desegregation and educational improvements have already resulted in a better school system, in a great improvement for all children over what we had before, and I think we'll eventually see these changes reflected in the total community. We'll see more than we can envision now. That's what we're working for. I'm going to run for reelection this year, for another four-year term. I'd very much like to serve again, and if I'm elected, my term will last until the kids who began kindergarten in 1968 are high-school seniors. That's a whole generation of school children. If we can continue the way we're going now, we will have brought a school system from near the bottom to well above the average in one generation. I think that would be an accomplishment that our students and our community could be very proud of."

V Clarke County, Georgia: An Unfinished Transformation

There was every reason for it to work: Athens, a north Georgia city of 44,000 people located 75 miles from Atlanta, prided itself on its reputation of patrician civility. Clarke County was the state's smallest, geographically—less than 125 square miles—and its entire population, including Athens, was only 65,000. Whites outnumbered blacks four to one, and in the consolidated public school system, 70 percent of the 11,400 students were white. There would be a little more busing, but not much. The University of Georgia, with its vast resources, was right there in the heart of the city, in a position to help. There were only three private schools in the county—two of them new and of uncertain quality. All of the 19 public schools could be stabilized, equalized, and racially balanced. A new superintendent was on the job. It was a propitious time for change. And besides, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare had threatened to terminate over $300,000 in federal funds if the county refused to devise and implement a plan for the complete desegregation of its schools.

So Clarke County did it. In 1969 and 1970, it established approximate racial balance among students and teachers in each of its schools. A few hundred more students were bused than previously. A few hundred whites left for the private schools. Some whites complained about the poor condition of the formerly all-black school to which their children were bused. Some blacks complained because their small children had to walk to school through an area of heavy traffic congestion. The complaints resulted in a lawsuit that eventually reached the U. S. Supreme Court, and there, in October of 1970, an ironic scene unfolded: the plaintiffs, whites and blacks together, challenged the constitutionality of busing and racial balance; and the defendants, a Deep South school board, supported those practices.

The school board won, and Athens became known as a place "where busing works." The superintendent, Charles P. McDaniel, observed later that, "For half a century we have been busing black students past white schools and vice versa to maintain segregation. Now we're busing to eliminate segregation." Horace W. Barker, Jr., in a report on the Clarke County schools published by the Southern Regional Council in 1971, concluded with this statement:

> Hopefully, there are enough people in the county who have achieved sufficient freedom from their personal prejudices and who have enough pride, determination, and patience to complete the social transformation they have initiated. Hopefully, enough people appreciate the progress that has been made and recognize the much greater progress that needs to be made so that Clarke County residents may provide sooner than the people in many other communities, an opportunity for their children to learn to live together, acknowledging and developing the differences and similarities of their respective southern cultures.

Now, five years later, it is possible to find in Athens and Clarke County some evidence of continuing progress, as well as some examples of unresolved problems, in the public school system. In one conversation after another, people who are interested in and concerned about public education make it clear that what Barker called "the social transformation" is still incomplete. With mixed feelings of optimism and discouragement, they speak of gains and losses, of lessons learned and labors wasted, of new insights and still-limited perceptions. If those conversations are at all representative of community opinion, they reveal two salient beliefs: first, that desegregation was and is the proper course for Athens, and second, that it will take longer to achieve genuinely equal educational opportunity than many people thought when the process was first begun.

The facts themselves support those conclusions, showing as they do both new strengths and continuing weaknesses. Further consolidation has reduced the number of schools from 19 to 15. Enrollment now stands at about 10,400—a consequence of some 300 more blacks and 1,300 fewer whites than before desegregation—and the white-black ratio has changed from 70-30 to 62-38. The professional staff of about 600 persons is slightly larger than before—resulting in a marked improvement in the pupil-teacher ratio—and blacks still make up approximately the same proportion of the staff (22 percent) as in 1969. There are only two black principals now, however (once there were five), and the superintendent and all four of his top associates are white. The highest ranking black is Farris Johnson, a former principal and director of curriculum who now is the superintendent's administrative assistant.

The school system buses about 6,000 students to and from school—less than 1,000 more than it bused previously. The same three private schools are still in operation, and their combined enrollment of about 1,200 is roughly twice what it was before. One of them, a Catholic school, has a scattered few blacks; the other two are all-white. Public school officials say they are getting some students back from the private schools, year by year.

Inside the public schools, some classes are all-black or all-white—or nearly so—and upwards of three-fourths of the students assigned to special classes designed for "educable mentally retarded" pupils are

black. The number of suspensions for misconduct is falling—from over 500 in 1971-72 to about 335 last year—and there was a further drop in the first half of this year, but black students consistently receive close to 75 percent of the suspensions each year.

Three of the 11 members of the formerly all-white school board are black, and the board has three women members—two white, one black. Expenditures per pupil have risen from $700 to $1,100 a year since desegregation began. A tax millage increase for schools was voted down in 1971 by a margin of 54 to 46, but a state re-evaluation of property offset that loss. Federal funds account for about 10 percent of the budget.

Far more revealing of how things are in Athens and Clarke County are the comments of a few people who are involved in the day-by-day operations of the schools, or who watch closely what is happening there. The sample is not large—no more than a dozen people altogether—but there is in their remarks considerable candor, and a reflection of the deep complexities involved when a community sets out to make a fundamental change in one of its most basic institutions.

Superintendent McDaniel came to Athens from a south Georgia community in 1969, the year that the desegregation plan was initiated. The tensions of that time, he says, have long since passed: "Opposition to the plan has dissipated. Busing is a bad word around the nation now, and a lot of people here still talk that line, but for us it's the right thing to do, and there's very little objection to it. It's been good for us. We bus at every school, as we did before, but the total amount is not much greater, and it's given us stability. The ratio of blacks and whites in every school is roughly the same as in the system as a whole. It has required some boundary shifting year by year, and that's always hard. Someday, we'll probably stop doing that."

One disadvantage of having students assigned to schools some distance from their homes has been a decline in parental participation in the schools. McDaniel is expectant of an improvement in that situation. There is not much evidence, however, of a change in housing patterns, except that a few middle-class black families have moved into houses and apartments in previously all-white neighborhoods. For the most part, whites and blacks live in separate areas, and busing is clearly the only way to bring them together in the same schools. "If Congress passed a constitutional amendment prohibiting busing for desegregation," says McDaniel, "it would cause chaos for us. We would have some all-black and all-white schools again."

The community, he says, "might go along" with a return to segregation: "If you put integration to a vote here, I think it would still go down—but by considerably less than a few years ago. A lot of reasons would be given—not just schools, but welfare, crime, and so forth. The teachers would vote for integration by a large margin, and the parents by a narrow margin. The rest of the community would oppose it. In another few years, though, I'm convinced things will be much better."

McDaniel says the school system has no test data that indicate the academic consequences of desegregation. Testing is a sensitive issue in Clarke County now, because of an apparent difference in state and local school board regulations with regard to student promotion. Both entities have moved away from more or less automatic ("social") promotion based mostly on age, and have begun to use achievement tests instead; they differ on what tests to use and what minimum standards of reading and mathematical performance to require. School officials estimate that about 20 percent of the students in Clarke County are now performing below the minimum levels of achievement required by the local regulations, which are somewhat less stringent than the state standards.

With or without hard data on the academic effects of desegregation, McDaniel says he is certain in his own mind that "the integrated school is the best place to teach black children—and white children, too. The social interaction, the social contact, is worth a great deal. We had some trouble at first, and it affected proms, homecomings and that sort of thing, but we've gradually eased back in, and there's a fair amount of mixing. Discipline is an area of some concern, but the dominant factors there are more economic than racial. Proportionally twice as many blacks as whites have discipline problems. The reasons for that are very complex, and often I'm caught between blacks who think I favor whites and whites who think I favor blacks."

Still, McDaniel says, "we are seeing overall improvement each year. It's happening faster in the elementary grades than in the high schools. I see this community changing, improving in many ways, down the long road ahead. Blacks and whites will have a better life because of desegregation. In 20 years it'll be much better. People will have more toleration than any of us have now."

Farris Johnson, McDaniel's administrative assistant, has held a number of positions in the school system since the days of complete segregation. Looking back, he says the gains from desegregation far outweigh the losses: "Desegregation matters a great deal. There are advantages and disadvantages, and always some casualties, whenever change is made, but everybody is going to be better off because of this. I have seen good changes in attitude. The contact, the exposure breaks down myths. It takes time. Most people just don't look far enough ahead."

Mentioning several educational facilities in the area that serve the county but also involve other school systems, the university and the state—schools for vocational and technical training, for handicapped students and the like—Johnson noted the strengths they have gained from desegregation. "They're all biracial," he said. "Before desegregation, they were separate and unequal. Real quality was economically impossible, and both races suffered. Now they're fine schools. That's just one spinoff effect of desegregation. People forget what it was like."

At Clark Central High School, one of two high schools in the county, Frank Malinowski is in his first

year as principal. He has spent 17 years as a teacher, coach and principal in the system. He remembers the early 1970s, when he was an elementary school principal, as a time of "apprehensions and anxieties"; now, he says, "most people have accepted desegregation as inevitable, even an advantage. We feel we're much better off having done it five years ago than many communities are that are going through it now. We're reaping benefits. Nothing helps as much as time and experience."

There are about 1,550 students in grades 9-12 at Clarke Central; about one-third of them are black. The atmosphere in the school seems relaxed, even casual, and Malinowski and his staff appear to work hard at keeping it that way. The school has a tradition of strong athletic teams—on which blacks now more than hold their own—and the presence of a popular new football coach has defused some racial tensions and lifted spirits considerably. Malinowski says Clarke Central's problems "are typical of those at any school. They're individual things—sometimes racial, but most often not. There is more conflict between people of the same race than across racial lines."

Academically, there are different levels of courses in English, mathematics and the sciences, and blacks tend to be concentrated in the lower levels. That concerns Malinowski. "All of the courses are open to all kids who want to try them," he says, "and since we operate on a quarter system, they have opportunities during the year to move up or down. It concerns me that a lot of black students short-change themselves about attempting the more challenging courses. We're trying hard to spur them on to take advanced courses. In the social studies there is a better mix, and better participation. But in the other basic academic areas, many of our black students often face some real conflicts—in priorities, values, motivation, peer pressure—and as a group, they don't do as well, although there are individual exceptions to that, of course."

As stoutly as he supports desegregation, Malinowski defends public education. "Public schools give a true picture of what society is like," he says. "Private schools are more sheltered. We have an excellent academic program here, and we offer many enrichment programs for all our students. There's a place for private schools—they're here to stay—but in this community, they're small, and no threat to the public schools."

Desegregation, he adds, is also here to stay: "If we continue to work at this and not let up, we will draw closer together economically and socially. At the elementary level, where I worked until this year, you can really see the hope for the future. Acceptance between blacks and whites is complete. The teachers have made a great effort to create this atmosphere of acceptance and tolerance. They've accepted the challenge. Some of them are outstanding."

John Holland, a counselor at Clarke Central, remembers thinking when he came there three years ago that "this school was already adjusted to desegregation —far better than Savannah, where I was before. Now, I'd say that less than 2 percent of the student body is really prejudiced. The kids get along well—but they live differently, and that's reflected in their behavior. They're not really very different, basically, but they've had different experiences, and it shows up in several ways. Academically, the black kids generally are more apt to be defensive, have a lower self-concept, and avoid challenges. Physically, athletically, they're tougher, better fighters. Some of them also express a lot more hostility. As long as the generation out there remembers the double standard of racism, those hard feelings will exist. In many ways, the blacks are much more able and willing to discuss those things than whites, who sometimes harbor the same bitterness."

In Holland's view, the picture is changing, slowly but surely: "Each succeeding group of students has a better attitude about themselves and about the world. The curriculum here has been made more responsive to student needs. The master schedule is broader, there are more specialized classes, the faculty is learning more how to be flexible, how to give individual attention to need. Are things moving in the right direction? I haven't really thought about it—but I can't think of any big changes I would make."

Holland added one other observation: "Schools are a reflection of the community, and generally, I think this community has supported desegregation. It's an unusual town, with a strange economic mix—40 percent affluent, 20 percent average, 40 percent deprived. But nobody's got this town locked up. It's free and friendly, it's fresh. It's a good place to live."

Just how good a town Athens is to live in depends on who you ask. Kenneth Dious is a 30-year-old Athenian who went through Clarke County schools and the University of Georgia — its undergraduate and law schools—and now is a practicing attorney in the city. He is black, and he looks upon his hometown and its school system with deeply mixed feelings.

Unlike many people inside the system, Dious sees more problems than progress. He says the number of black teachers, never as high as it should have been, is lower now than it used to be. He says a disproportionately high percentage of black students is locked into special classes for "dumb kids," and far too many of them are making no progress academically. He says there are problems with segregated classes, with the administration of discipline, with extracurricular activities, with the lack of black educators in positions of authority, and with the closing of formerly all-black schools. He has had black teachers and parents come to him seeking legal advice, and he has met several times with school officials to discuss the problems he and his clients have identified. They have, he says, made "some progress." He hears that "things are better this year."

Still, Dious is concerned. It is not the theory of integration but its practice, its implementation by the powers that be, that bothers him. He sees some hard questions with no easy answers, and some of them are painful, but he confronts them directly: "Is it better

or worse to throw kids together in advanced classes? They need help. How's the best way for them to get it? What do you do to assure that all kids reach their highest potential? It's a two-fold problem—it's racial, and it's socio-economic.

"Kids today, black kids, are getting an education that's inferior to what I got. People don't want to admit that real integration is give and take. I don't see the black kids being motivated. They're not getting into the right classes. They can't write as well as we did. When I went to an all-black high school here, I felt a part of it—now, most of the black kids don't. They need recognition, they need some success. There's less parent participation in the schools. The ones who do succeed are looked down on by their peers. Like I said, it's a two-fold problem.

"Some people say if you don't mix you'll never solve the race problem. Others say it's choking and killing black kids. I don't know. We need more discipline in the schools, more even-handed discipline—and more blacks in leadership positions. I'd say the black community here is divided fifty-fifty on integration. There's a lot of distrust and resentment and resignation. People don't see any increase in black achievement—they just see the cycle continuing: kids drop out, or graduate without a good education, and the fear is that their kids won't get it either.

"There's so much apathy. Too many black kids aren't trying. They want it easy. There's no motivation. The real discrimination is not in discipline—it's in ignoring kids, shunting them off. It's all very complex, very difficult."

When he finished law school, Dious went to New York to work for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. Why did he come back? "I came back to deal with these problems. Somebody's got to go back home. I want to be able to say I did help accomplish something. I'm waiting for some young man with fire in his eyes to call me a Tom, so I can step aside and let him take over."

When desegregation began in Athens, many people attached their optimism to the University of Georgia's presence. It is the dominant force in the city, an institution of vast resources with expertise in many fields, not least of them education. Its professors and administrators were school patrons, and many of them were liberal-minded and progressive.

Individuals from the university have helped in the desegregation process in many ways. But there is wide agreement that the institution itself has not been of much help, and almost everybody who talks about the town-gown relationship has at least one story to tell about the pushiness of professors or the fear of intrusion in the schools. The result, said one, is that the university "has not been a factor, one way or the other. It's just another institution."

One professor who has been active in school affairs is Albert Ike. He says the first year was the hardest, and each year since has been a little better. He sees a slight trend in the return of white students from the private schools, "for reasons that are both economic and academic." He believes it is "better to stick and face it than to go the private school route and live a sheltered and unrealistic life." But then he asks:

"Which is the most real—integration, or separate worlds? A lot of blacks have been disillusioned by desegregation, and with good reason—they've sometimes paid a heavy price for it. And a lot of liberal whites, eager to have it work, have seen their own kids scarred by some of their negative experiences. We expected that the association would help blacks and not hurt whites—but we failed to see that those with strong personalities would dominate, and black kids have that, some of them have done that. A lot of the kids of liberal whites have been turned off, made cynical, by the rough treatment they've gotten. I used to think the whole thing would be done in a hurry. Now I think it might take a generation—and what we've got now, in the interim, is a sacrificial generation of white and black kids."

The social transformation that was begun in Athens almost seven years ago goes slowly on. No one openly advocates changing the basic direction of it, but the pace and the style are not to everyone's liking, and no one suggests that the process is nearly finished.

VI Little Rock, Arkansas: "We Can Have Equity And Quality"

It is surprising to see how much trees can grow in 19 years. In 1957, the magnolias that flanked the main entrance to Little Rock's Central High School barely reached above the ground-floor windows; in 1976; they are more than three stories high.

More than just the trees have changed at Central. It was the symbol of Southern resistance to school desegregation in the 1950s. U.S. combat troops patrolled the grounds and hallways throughout the 1957-58 school year to defend the presence of nine black students. The school was closed the following year, and opened again the year after that, with a token few blacks present in the student body and debilitating tension present inside and out of the building. Central High, the city of Little Rock and the state of Arkansas, with Governor Orval Faubus firmly in command, were branded with a reputation for lawlessness and disorder.

Now, as news of lawlessness and disorder on the school front emanates from Boston, Little Rock and Arkansas are quiet, and Central High's student body is made up of about 1,100 whites and 1,000 blacks—most of whom were not even born when Faubus threw down his segregationist challenge before the President of the United States.

It took Little Rock 15 years after that first confrontation to implement a plan of complete desegregation in its school system, and during all that time, school officials were in and out of court almost constantly. In 1973 the court adopted a plan drawn up by the board which involved the busing of students at all grade levels. The school board negotiated with black plaintiffs a settlement which provided a moratorium on litigation in exchange for promises of no black faculty erosion, no in-school segregation by testing or ability grouping, and several other guarantees.

"It's been an interesting process, and an interesting time," says Paul Fair, a 22-year veteran in the school system who has been superintendent since 1972. "I didn't believe at first that this could be done. Now I believe anything can be done. It's obvious to me now that desegregation of schools is best. In order to build a solid, cohesive community, you have to have it. Quality education for all is essential in our society. And I feel very strongly that desegregation should be pursued in all sections of the country. The Constitution wasn't written to apply only to some sections and not to others."

Fair and others in Little Rock, in and out of the school system, tend to speak of desegregation in the past tense, as an accomplished fact, and in a sense they are correct: the ratio of blacks to whites in all but about a half-dozen of the 35 schools is within 10 percentage points, more or less, of the system-wide ratio. Hardly anyone, though—Fair and his colleagues included—asserts that all the problems associated with desegregation have been worked out, or that genuine integration has been achieved. Here are some of the reasons why:

Enrollment. Back in the early 1960s, before any substantial desegregation had taken place, the school system had about 25,000 pupils, less than 30 percent of whom were black. Since then, there has been a steady increase in the number of blacks and a steady decrease in the number of whites. In 1971, the year busing and full desegregation of the secondary schools began, blacks made up 43 percent of the enrollment. In the fall of 1975, total enrollment increased slightly, for the first time in 10 years—but the total (some 22,000) resulted from an additional 600 blacks, offsetting a loss of over 500 more whites. This year, for the first time, a majority—52 percent—of the students are black.

Discipline. Between 1968 and 1974, while total enrollment was dropping by about 2,000, the number of suspensions increased from 1,300 to 2,000, and the percentage of suspensions meted out to blacks rose from 63 to 85. (In 1974-75, the total fell off sharply to less than 1,200, and this year the rate has slowed further. It is still true, however, that better than 80 percent of the suspensions are given to blacks.) The administration of discipline is a matter of deep concern to school officials, teachers, parents and students alike.

Parental participation. Although the school system has had some success in involving parents as volunteers in ongoing school activities, rank-and-file participation of parents in the PTA and other programs of that sort has fallen off. Said one parent: "It's been a total failure. Black, white, rich, poor—they stay away in droves." She cited several reasons, among them the fact that many families live distant from the schools their children attend. Also, she said, "It's an urban thing—there's too much going on—and people work, or they don't think their voices count, or they think everything is settled and there's no need for them to go, or they think they have nothing to contribute, or they simply want to be left alone."

In-school segregation. By choice or by assignment (the reasons are not altogether clear), some classes end up being virtually all-white or all-black. Outside of class, there is a considerable amount of self-segregation by both races, particularly in the high schools. There are also divisions by social class. "There are a lot of different social groups here," said one high school student, "and there's not much crossover between them. The splits are racial and economic too—and the only one that's both black and white is the football team."

There are several contributing factors which help to explain the enrollment trends of the past two decades in Little Rock. To begin with, there are three separate school districts in Pulaski County, representing the three principal political jurisdictions there: Little Rock, North Little Rock, and the remainder of Pulaski County, most of which is suburban or rural. The two cities are separated by the Arkansas River, which flows diagonally from northwest to southeast across the county. Both have experienced some population growth—but a decline in school enrollment—in the past 15 years. The Pulaski County school district, which surrounds the cities, has grown rapidly; with almost 30,000 students—about 80 percent of them white—it is now the largest school system in Arkansas. Generally speaking, enrollment patterns in the three districts have reflected two common demographic trends: the movement of middle- and upper-income whites to suburban developments in the once-empty countryside, and the movement of blacks from rural areas to cities.

There are more than 20 private schools—about half of them Catholic schools—serving the metropolitan area, and their combined enrollment of about 7,000 is overwhelmingly white. Undoubtedly, desegregation has been a factor in the growth of those schools. Most of the non-parochial ones have opened since 1970, and the Catholic schools, which were struggling for survival a few years ago, are now operating at full capacity.

Public school officials in Little Rock say they see several indications that an upward trend in enrollment is underway in the city. Last fall, they identified 527 pupils who transferred into the public schools from private schools. They say the latest drop in white enrollment is explained primarily by a decline in the birth rate, and they have projections showing a probable reversal of that trend. The recent increase in black students, they say, is explained in part by a reduction in the number of school dropouts. Taking all of these factors into consideration, the school system anticipates a modest growth in total enrollment through 1980, and a stabilizing of black-white ratios at present proportions.

The complex issue of discipline in the schools has received much attention recently. School officials have been searching for new ways to cope with the problem, and the drop of almost 50 percent in the number of suspensions last year is apparently an indication that they are having some success. There are now security officers—called "campus supervisors"—at the high schools; referral rooms for counseling, as a preliminary step prior to suspension, have been set up; counselors, social workers and adult aides are now more involved in the day-by-day activities of the schools; the "Opportunity School," another alternative to suspension, has been opened to get at the specific needs exhibited by students who get into trouble; and the local police department and district attorney's office are making an effort in the community to get at problems involving teenagers before they spill over into the schools.

Numerous explanations are given for the rise in discipline problems, among them these: racial-cultural differences; socio-economic differences; changing social values; permissiveness; pressure; teacher incompetence; drugs; sex; the growth of violence in daily life; youth-adult conflict; competition; the ineffectiveness of schooling; the erosion of authority, and so on. No doubt most or all of these factors contribute to the problem. The only certainty is that no simple solutions will be forthcoming.

Conversations with several Little Rock residents who have been active in public school issues there in the past indicate that the old fears and animosities which were explicitly racial are gone—if not completely forgotten. "Things have stabilized," said one man whose son attends Central High. "My impression is that the present problems—and there are problems—are no longer thought of as being racial. Nobody even talks about that much anymore."

Another man said the most serious problem in the schools now is "random and unprovoked violence. It's not so much race as it is class—white against white, black against black. I hear the teachers in despair saying they can't do anything with these kids. What you see in the schools is what you see in the city: some selective integration here and there—personal, individual, casual—but deep divisions along economic lines. Color is a lot less important now than money, than what you can afford. Desegregation was worth it—it has to be—but by itself, it's not sufficient. We've moved beyond where we were, but not necessarily closer together. I'm not sure where we've moved."

To one woman who has played a prominent role in school affairs, current problems in public education have little to do with race and much to do with quality. "We've accomplished desegregation," she says. "That's over, and going back would be unthinkable. The problem now is the overall failure of education. I think schools generally are getting worse and worse, becoming more authoritarian and bureaucratic. Schools don't make a lot of difference for kids. When we were pushing for desegregation, we assumed that some kids were getting a good education. I think that was a false assumption. It's great that the kids are together—race is much less of an issue in Little Rock now, and attitudes have changed a lot—but we're not doing much to make schools more responsive to individual needs, to make them truly effective institutions."

Another woman characterized the Little Rock desegregation plan as "too mechanical." She said students "have to ride too far and change schools too often. I wish there were not so many different grade levels [between kindergarten and 12th grade, there are five], so they could stay longer in the same schools. I also wish there was a better feeder system, so the same kids would move along together through the system." She concedes, though, that there may not have been a better method to achieve desegregation, given the existing housing patterns in the city, and she is convinced that desegregation is worth the inconvenience involved: "Without any question, we're better off. The people who want it to work are in charge now, at last.

We're making progress, and we couldn't do it without busing. A constitutional amendment that forced us to stop would be a disaster. It would undo what we've got."

Among blacks in Little Rock, there appears to be a general acceptance of desegregation—or at least an absence of any visible or vocal dissatisfaction. Lottie Shackleford, who was a senior at all-black Mann High School during the crisis at Central in 1957, recalls that "we had less of everything—books, equipment, courses, you name it. Now, the opportunities are equal. It's not perfect, but everytime you change something you have gains and losses. I could never regret desegregation. It's right." Mrs. Shackleford recently served as president of the Little Rock PTA Council.

John Walker, as the principal attorney for the black plaintiffs in the Little Rock school case, is perhaps in the best position of anyone to assess the changes which have taken place in the city's schools. Walker, a senior partner in a prominent biracial law firm, has handled a number of desegregation cases in Arkansas and elsewhere for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and he is generally regarded as the principal architect of the Little Rock plan.

"Now that we're no longer preoccupied with the mechanics of desegregation," he says, "it has become possible to concentrate on educational issues. The quality of education, of teaching, is improving. Little Rock schools deliver much better education than they did 10 years ago. I think whites still get the best of it, but there have been gains for blacks too, and the inequities are not as great as they used to be. The dropout rate has been cut in half since the days of segregation. Without desegregation, there never would have been any change, any quality or equality."

The remaining problems, as Walker sees them, are serious but manageable. He mentions discipline and the professional competence of educators as two of them, and he says there is a relationship between the two: "Teachers and principals often lack the training and experience to deal with discipline problems. In a heterogeneous population, you can't succeed with an active-passive, authoritarian style — you have to be flexible, even-handed, and able to address individual needs and differences. The ability to discipline is inseparable from the ability to teach."

In the city at large, says Walker, there is now an air of calm, "and not much evidence of social unrest. Blacks aren't agitating for anything, white liberals seem to have grown tired of activism, and conservatives have grown tired of resisting. I think busing has been accepted, and whites in the power structure appear to take some pride in the success of school desegregation. There has been some desegregation in housing, and the employment picture is improving. For the most part, the law and the courts have ended deliberate segregation. Little Rock is in a position to make significant progress in the future—not just in the schools, but in the city."

The comments of school officials tend to support Walker's conclusion. Superintendent Fair, for example, says students "are progressively more interested in the educational process, and less in the desegregation process. We've had very, very few racial problems in the past two or three years. The system is also better academically than before — in curriculum, services, teaching and student performance. We're in a position to do a better job."

On the question of academic performance, there is an expressed belief—but apparently no hard evidence—that both blacks and whites have done better since desegregation. On the nationally standardized Scholastic Aptitude Tests, which are optional for high school students, scores from Little Rock last fall averaged 991 (out of a possible 1600), compared to a national average of 906; no tabulation of scores by race is available.

John Fortenberry, Little Rock's assistant superintendent for instruction, says that blacks as a group still don't score as well as whites on standardized tests, "but I am convinced in my own mind that we have improved overall, and that the quality of instruction is definitely better for blacks now than before, and probably for whites too. We are providing all children with an equal opportunity for success in school. There's no question in my mind that desegregation was the right move for us."

W. H. Fowler, the assistant superintendent for personnel services, is one of six blacks—out of about 55 professionals—in the school system's central office. Such a representation of blacks, he acknowledges, is low. In the schools, the percentage is higher; there, one-third of the 60 administrators, including 10 of the 35 principals, are black, as are about 30 percent of the classroom teachers.

Because the size of the total staff has grown, the number of blacks working in the schools has grown, but the percentage has remained about the same. Some blacks say the percentage should be increased to reflect the change in the percentage of black students; in the central office, the response is that only 10 percent of the applicants for open positions are black, and it takes active recruitment just to maintain the present black percentage.

T. E. Patterson, the president of the school board—and its only black member—is ambivalent about such matters as employment ratios, as he is about other problems faced by the schools. Considering everything, he says he thinks "it was worth it. We got rid of segregation by law. The remaining problems have to do with attitude, with people who seek advantage—and not all of them are white. The system still caters to the affluent, but there's a lot more equity. Our policies are good—it's just that many old customs and practices still exist. For example, we have a policy against rigid tracking and ability grouping, and the nomenclature has changed, but a lot of locked-in tracking still goes on."

Patterson, who is the associate director of the Arkansas Education Association, believes the overall quality of instruction in Little Rock is not as good as it

should be. "Too many teachers don't want to deal with kids and their problems," he says, "and too many of them don't relate well. We've done a lot of human relations training, but our turnover is pretty high, and when good people leave, you lose what you've gained. Black kids are *exposed* to a better education here now than they were 20 years ago, but some of it is offset by poor teaching, and I can't really say if kids are actually *getting* a better education."

Still, he says, it is all worth the cost: "This process has opened up doors that wouldn't have opened otherwise. Those who make it through are prepared to make it in the real world—and more kids are making it through."

In Little Rock, says Patterson, housing segregation is no longer governed by law, but by money, and that situation is changing slowly as job opportunities for blacks improve. In politics, he says, "I feel we have done well, in elective and appointive offices. Power in Little Rock used to be in the hands of the conservative elite, but some of the key ones have died, and now it's hard to tell where the real power is." Some of it, apparently, belongs to Patterson himself; Little Rock's majority-white voters have elected and reelected him to the school board, and he recently served as a special adviser to Arkansas Governor David Pryor.

Gradually, by fits and starts, Little Rock is accommodating itself to the new reality of biracialism. Sometimes the adjustments are compelled by the law and the courts. Sometimes they are made voluntarily, with little public notice. Either way, they bring the barriers of segregation and discrimination down another notch. In housing, in employment, in politics, blacks are entering through doors that were first thrust open in the public schools. There is desegregation, but not integration. Segregation by skin color is declining; segregation by wealth is not.

"Social change comes slowly," says Paul Fair, and indeed it does. His assistant superintendent for pupil personnel, Leonard Thalmueller, grapples daily with the perplexing problems of student discipline, and with the racial and economic overtones attendant to those problems. The Panel of American Women, a biracial group which has been working since 1963 to build community support for desegregation, finds in 1975 that junior high school students seldom have an opportunity for honest and open discussion of the prejudices that still exist among them. Brownie Ledbetter, the director of the women's organization, sees in the schools and in the community a tendency "to explain away the problems people don't want to face, to dismiss expressions of fear and anger and frustration as differences in values, as a cultural thing." Thalmueller boasts that "any school district of lesser quality would have folded under what Little Rock has gone through these past 18 years." He also says he is "disturbed that many cities once critical of us aren't going to have to do it." In Little Rock there is pride and prejudice, desegregation but not yet integration.

At Central High School, where it all began, the principal is Morris Holmes. He is black, and blunt. His students are rich and poor and middle class, half white and half black. He speaks of "the equal sharing of the burdens of change," and says there is at Central "the spirit of equity, at least, if not yet the fact of it." He is convinced desegregation has been worth the cost:

"There has been no academic decline. Fewer students drop out. A greater percentage of whites and blacks graduate, and more enter college. Our problems now are more economic than racial. The divisions between blacks and whites may be narrowing, but between rich and poor they are widening. Racially, we are moving in the right direction. The Constitution says it's right, and the quality of democracy demands it. Both races have had to give up some identity. There are frustrations, and temporary setbacks. Nevertheless, 'separate but equal' was a myth, a monster. We can have equity and quality. That's the goal, the principle."

VII Hillsborough County, Florida: Betting On Raised Aspirations

BOARD DECLARES EMERGENCY, the page one headline read; PARENTS BLOCK SCHOOL BUSES. The date was August 27, 1975. The story reported protests at 27 schools, and the deployment of police officers to "protect life and property." Pat Garaghty, a protest leader at one of the schools, was quoted as saying, "We're not fooling around. It's crazy what they want us to do with our 5 and 6 year olds."

Boston, right? Wrong. Tampa, Florida. A school desegregation protest, right? Wrong again. The issue in Tampa was not too much busing, but not enough. Enforcement of a law limiting bus transportation to children who live more than two miles from school had compelled Pat Garaghty's children—and about 3,000 others—to walk in congested areas where there were no sidewalks. They wanted their buses back.

Hillsborough County is a case unto itself. It is the 26th largest school district in the United States—116,000 students in a vast area of 1,027 square miles. It is completely desegregated: each of its 132 schools has a white-black ratio roughly approximate to the ratio in the total enrollment—80 white, 20 black. It may be the most thoroughly bused school system anywhere: 350 buses roll 42,000 miles a day, taking 57,000 students to and from school—about 25,000 more than before desegregation.

Tampa and Hillsborough County have one consolidated school system, and it has always had an extensive transportation program. Until 1970, however, the buses took most black students to black schools and white students to white schools. In fact, in 1958, when black parents filed suit to desegregate the schools, their complaint asked that black students within two blocks of a white school no longer be required to be bused ten miles to a separate school for black students. The school system dabbled in court for over a dozen years until 1970, when the system was significantly desegregated under federal court order. There still remained, however, a few all black schools and some virtually all white schools. Then, in April, 1971, the U.S. Supreme Court in another case ruled that busing could be used to complete the desegregation process for public schools. Three weeks later, U.S. District Court Judge Bent Krentzman told Hillsborough school officials they had one month to present to him a plan for the complete eradication of segregation in their schools. The plan was drawn up, presented in court by the June 15 deadline, approved on July 2, and implemented less than two months later. The dual school system that had been firmly entrenched over many long decades was completely disestablished in a matter of weeks.

At the beginning of 1976, in the fifth year of realignment, public education in Tampa could be described as having racial balance, border-to-border busing, stability, and an absence of white flight—a combination of characteristics present in a mere handful of American cities. At the same time, the school system had its share of second-generation desegregation problems — chief among them being the administration of discipline—and at least one uncommon problem: how best to educate the more than 6,000 students whose native tongue is not English but one of the 46 other primary home languages spoken in the city.

Compared to most American cities, Tampa has had a remarkably successful experience with school desegregation. What it has done has been cited frequently in special reports and in the press as the best example of a workable solution to the problems of race and education. Even so, it is possible in a few days of conversations in the schools and in the city to hear a variety of conflicting opinions on the subject, ranging from the belief that integration is an accomplished fact to the assertion that desegregation is an abysmal failure. The truth, it seems, lies somewhere in between.

There are some interesting and unusual aspects to the story of how Hillsborough County developed its desegregation plan. The school system began reassignment of its faculties in 1969 under a plan devised by E. L. Bing, an administrator on the superintendent's staff. Two years later, when the pupil desegregation order was issued by the federal court, Bing was given the assignment of directing the effort to comply with the order. A task force of 15 school system staff members and five lay people was set up, and technical advice was requested from the Desegregation Consulting Center at the University of Miami. In addition, Bing organized a community-wide committee of 156 persons, ranging from prominent members of the power structure and grass-roots leaders to about 30 students, and that group was given the responsibility for making final recommendations to the school board.

Judge Krentzman had instructed the school board not to leave any school majority-black. The task force, working in open sessions before the press and the public, adopted a set of operating principles and debated a variety of options and alternatives. On one important point, it decided to go beyond the requirements of the court and establish the standard of racial balance in every school, reasoning that equity and stability would result if approximately the same percentages of blacks and whites were assigned to every school.

In the end, the task force presented to the citizens committee three optional plans for each grade level. The committee then made its own choices, listed the

options in one-two-three order, and sent them to the school board. The board accepted the first choice of the committee in each instance, and the resulting plan was formally submitted to the court. The entire process took just three weeks.

In general, the plan employed a variety of techniques —clustering, pairing, non-contiguous zoning, realignment of grades, and a substantial increase in busing. The logistical complexities of it resulted in some confusion and inconvenience, and there was much criticism—most of it from whites—about long bus rides and staggered opening and closing hours. But the black community bore the brunt of change: black high schools became junior highs, black primary-school children were bused to suburban schools, and black students generally had to ride longer, farther and more often than whites. Although blacks constituted less than 20 percent of the enrollment, they constituted 53 percent of the students bused. "The first year was tough," Bing recalls, "but not catastrophic."

Some whites threatened to boycott the schools. New private schools were opened, and established ones experienced an upsurge in applications for admission. Between 1,500 and 2,000 white students left the public schools. Total enrollment stayed above 100,000, however, and as the early-year kinks in the plan began to work themselves out, it became apparent that the vast majority of whites and blacks reluctant or not, had gone along with the shift. The plan, said Bing, "belongs to the people of this county." The first test had been passed.

Bing received some criticism—and not much public credit—for the role he played. Now one of six assistant superintendents in the school system, he still handles some programs and problems that have to do with desegregation, and he gives the appearance of a man totally unaffected by either criticism or praise. At 54 years of age, he has spent almost half his life as a teacher and administrator in the Hillsborough schools, and as a native of the county, he was also a student there. As a black man, he remembers vividly the days of segregation, and in his mind he has no doubt that the changes he has helped to set in motion are correct ones:

"It's the best thing that could have happened here. Considering the difficult circumstances, I'm overwhelmed at the success of it. The plan is working. It has raised black opportunity and black performance, and white performance has held up. There has been a great increase in social-cultural growth. There is no doubt that blacks have paid a higher price than whites, but the rewards are worth the cost. The decision to achieve and maintain racial balance was crucial, and it's the key to our success. Every year is better than the year before. To try to turn it around now, to undo it, would be completely indefensible. The mechanism for improving the economic and social conditions of black people is right there in those desegregated schools. Everybody, white and black, is going to benefit from this."

Bing points out that white flight, the plague of most urban school systems, has been minor and insignificant in Tampa. "We lost about 1,500 kids the first fall," he says, "but most of them were back by Thanksgiving." Aside from the Catholic schools, most of which are fully desegregated, the remaining 25 or so private schools in Hillsborough County now enroll fewer than 4,000 students. Enrollment in the public schools, meanwhile, has increased to about 116,000. Blacks still make up roughly 15 percent of the high school students and 20 percent in the junior highs and elementary schools. Part of the increase in total enrollment is accounted for by the addition of a full kindergarten program in 1973. About 6,500 children are in that program now, attending schools in their neighborhoods.

The disproportionate busing of black students, Bing says, was not a decision based on race but on numbers: "The plain truth is that it is cheaper to bus most of the blacks to outlying schools than it is to bus most of the whites to the inner city, simply because there are so many more whites. We tried to keep busing to an absolute minimum, and that was the only way we could do it. We didn't close the black schools, or change their names, or fire their principals. We've tried to assure full participation in school activities. We've tried to maintain a good feeder system, so the kids who start to school together stay together all the way through. We wanted to get a fair socio-economic mix, too, wherever possible. There are so many things to consider. It takes a lot of planning, and there's no way to make it perfect."

In general, white students who live away from the center of the city are bused in to sixth-grade and seventh-grade schools there, and sometimes to junior high schools (grades eight and nine). Blacks generally are bused for grades one through five, and in the high schools, which serve large geographical areas, large numbers of both races are transported. The white protest against the loss of bus transportation for their children earlier this year was an anomaly; an informal referendum on the general election ballot in 1972 showed that 70 percent of the voters were in favor of a constitutional amendment banning busing for desegregation purposes. The consensus around Tampa now seems to be that a majority still feel that way. "If you polled adults, you'd get a negative attitude on busing," Bing says. "If you polled kids, you'd get a positive one."

Florida Governor Reubin Askew campaigned hard against passage of the anti-busing referendum even though it was a straw vote with no binding force. He said at the time he feared that such a constitutional amendment would wash school desegregation down the drain, and he added: "I hate to think the price this state would pay if it were to return to a segregated school system." The opposite view was represented succinctly by Republican State Senator David McClain of Tampa. "I believe that forced busing is both morally and constitutionally wrong," he said. "I further believe it will not stand the test of time."

Academically, it is difficult to make a correlation between desegregation and student performance. On

standardized tests, overall achievement is said to be roughly on a par with national norms, whereas a few years ago whites were slightly below the average and blacks were far below it. School officials say, however, that they have no breakdown of current scores by race. There apparently has been a decline in the number of dropouts and an increase in the number and percentage of students graduating and going on to post-high school training, and those trends are thought to be benefitting both whites and blacks, but hard data is scarce and interpretations are speculative. Conversations with a few principals indicate a strong consensus that blacks generally have improved academically and whites have at least held their own. Once again, though, the evidence is more feeling than fact.

There is one study, done by Donald R. Taylor and reported in his doctoral dissertation, which compares standardized test scores of 1,000 Hillsborough County students before and after their attendance at desegregated schools. Taylor, now an administrator in the school system, randomly selected 780 white students and 220 blacks who had attended segregated schools in grades one through three and desegregated schools in grades four through six. Comparing their third-grade and sixth-grade scores on the Otis-Lennon Mental Ability Test, he found that black students increased their scores by an average of 6.5 points, and white students increased theirs by an average of 4.2 points. Perhaps more significantly, he found that both blacks and whites of lower socio-economic status made slightly greater gains than blacks and whites of higher status—and in none of the racial or economic categories did the average scores indicate a decline.

If desegregation in Hillsborough County is in fact resulting in a better educational and social experience for blacks and whites alike, the changes have not been—and still are not—without problems and controversies. Here are some examples:

- It has been necessary to adjust school zones each year in order to maintain racial balance; even so, about 20 of the 132 schools currently deviate by more than 10 percent from the prescribed ratio. The adjustments are minor, affecting a small number of students, but they cause inconvenience, and sometimes hardship. How much longer they will be made is problematical.
- The school board, whose seven members are elected to staggered four-year terms and paid salaries in accordance with state law, has never had a black member. That is a sore point with many blacks, who make up only 13 percent of the county population.
- Statistics from the school system indicate that there is a substantial number of classes which are either virtually all-white or as much as 90 percent black. School officials say a special effort has been made to avoid racial isolation, but they concede that racially identifiable classes do exist. In the assignment of children to classes for the educable mentally retarded, blacks are over-included by more than twice their proportion in the student population.
- As a direct consequence of desegregation issues concerning blacks, the school system now faces the necessity—under federal pressure—to equalize opportunities for women. Of the more than 5,000 teachers, 73 percent are women, but the top 14 administrative positions are held by men, and only three of the 37 junior and senior high school principals are women. (Blacks, incidentally, hold 17 percent of all administrative positions, compared to 13 percent before desegregation, and two of the top 14 administrators are black, whereas none were before.)

Another perplexing problem in Tampa—also lifted to public consciousness by desegregation—concerns "national origin" minorities. There is an abundance of those in the city, beginning with a large and long- present Spanish-surname population and running through no less than 44 others, from Arabic to Yugoslavian. Federal law prohibits deni l of equal opportunity on the ground of national origin as well as race. Federal regulations since 1970 have required school systems to lift language barriers and to provide special assistance to students who do not speak English. As a beginning point, federal regulations state that whenever there are 20 or more children whose primary language is something other than English, they should be given at least part of their instruction in their native tongue.

In the Tampa schools, eight languages have been identified as being the primary tongue of at least 20 students: Spanish, Italian, German, French, Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese. A new bilingual education program has been set up to work out instructional programs in those eight languages. Heretofore, the schools have had no programs or services and few materials geared specifically to the needs of non-English-speaking students—not even courses in English as a second language.

Tampa's Spanish-surname population presents an especially interesting study in this context. Since before the days of the city's emergence as a shipping and industrial center almost 100 years ago, the Spanish and Cuban populations have been sizable and influential. Many thousands of people of Latin ancestry and heritage live there now. Some are recent immigrants from Cuba and elsewhere in Latin America, but a majority have roots in Tampa that go back two or more generations. Yet for all the Spanish flavor the city has, it is not a bilingual community. Some say that is because the schools have failed to teach Spanish to the native English-speaking population, or to help the new and old immigrants keep the language alive; others say most Spanish-surname families have not wanted to preserve the language. Whatever the case, Tampans as a whole are probably less bilingual now than they were 50 years ago. If the schools now find it necessary to do more in the way of language instruction, one benefit of that could be to stimulate renewed interest in the city's multi-cultural heritage.

One other problem related to school desegregation in Hillsborough County has to do with discipline. For months, it was an irritating bone of contention between

blacks and whites; then, in the first week of 1976, it came to the surface in a four-hour meeting between concerned black citizens and the school board. Earlier, a complaint in March, 1975, had been filed with the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office for Civil Rights, charging that black students were being discriminated against in the administration of discipline. The federal office, after conducting an investigation in September, had notified Superintendent Raymond Shelton in December "that your district's policies have a discriminatory impact on minority students," and told him he should come up with an affirmative action plan "to alleviate these areas of concern."

Shelton subsequently responded with an affirmative action plan "to continue the provision for equal and nondiscriminatory treatment of students," and in an accompanying six-page letter, he told the federal officials that he and his staff had "seen nothing that would warrant [the] conclusion" that the district's policies had a discriminatory impact on blacks.

By the time Shelton and the school board held their January meeting with the black community members, the issue had been thoroughly aired in the press, and it had taken on the dimensions of a serious crisis. The meeting ended on an affirmative note, however, with the board agreeing to review the discipline problem and to sit down with delegations of citizens in a series of community "workshops" to discuss a wide range of black concerns.

Records kept by the school system indicate that the number of suspensions increased from less than 5,000 in 1970-71—the year before desegregation—to more than 10,000 in 1973-74, and that about half of the latter total were given to blacks. Some blacks contend that the figures themselves are proof of discrimination; school officials deny that, saying that socio-economic factors are the principal cause. Blacks say the situation is getting worse; school officials say the number of suspensions dropped by 1,300 in 1974-75, and are down another 20 percent so far this year. Blacks say the school system is unresponsive to their concerns; school officials say the issue has been blown out of proportion.

Superintendent Shelton says he is bothered by the accusations of discrimination. "There is a problem," he says. "We don't deny that. But it is a complex social, cuutural, economic problem, not just in the schools but in the entire society. I believe we are making significant progress in the schools. We're having a good year this year, better than last. It's important to have discipline in the schools—firm, fair, even-handed discipline. We're getting a handle on it."

One of the most outspoken complainants against the schools is Otha Favors, a leader of the Community Council on Desegregated Education, a black organization. "Equal treatment alone," he says, "is not enough to correct 300 years of inequity. School officials do only enough to keep one jump ahead of the courts and the federal compliance officials. The discipline thing is only one issue. There are unfair hiring practices. There are segregated classes. There are no blacks on the board. The dropout rate is still high. The academic impact of desegregation has been minimal. I can't cite any positive results—they all tend to be negative. They base progress on numbers, on order, on passive acceptance. The plan itself is unfair, massive forced busing is unfair. There's more confusion on all sides than ever before, and a more dangerous kind of racial hostility. I see few rays of hope."

It is impossible to say how much, if at all, the views of Favors are shared by other blacks in Tampa. For all his pessimism, Favors himself admits that "the little show of attitude change" at the January board meeting encouraged him. "Some few board members and a few administration people seem to be fair-minded," he says. And he says something else:

"Back in 1969 and 1970, I definitely would have said it couldn't work. Now, I'm not as sure. The law and the courts have had an impact, and we can't change it. We can only keep hacking away at continuing discrimination. People have to take a long hard look, and decide if it can be made to work. I want to be objective, to reserve opinion. There are a lot of scars. If both communities got solidly behind it, there might be a chance they could make it work."

Senator David McClain, who said when desegregation began that busing would not "stand the test of time," has not changed his views. "It has created more problems than it has solved," he says, and he speaks of "upheaval, disruption, severe discipline problems, a severely handicapped teaching process." The South, he says, "is bearing the brunt, but the North is worse off." A constitutional amendment, he says, would mean "neighborhood schools and natural integration," and he adds: "Eventually it'll be worked out. Neighborhoods will prevail. The courts will come around to that. This isn't a success, not like it is now."

Somewhere between the opinions of Favors and McClain are those of such people as Cecile Essrig, a member of the school board, and Warren Dawson, a black attorney, and Katy Keene, who has headed the PTA Council. Mrs. Essrig says desegregation was "the best choice," but "not a panacea, not magic. There's a lot more to be done." She sees some good coming out of the controversy over discipline: "I think it will help a lot for us to sit down and talk." Dawson, who has participated in the desegregation case in court, says he is "convinced this is worth the effort. Some discrimination remains, but we're moving in the right direction, toward equity. The only way to get it is when we're all in the same car." He guesses that blacks in Tampa favor school desegregation by at least two to one. Mrs. Keene says she finds that most people have a positive attitude about desegregation. She says there have "already been important human relations gains," and the change that has begun "will have great long-term consequences."

Finally, there is E. L. Bing again. As a youngster, he attended a black elementary school in the eastern part of Hillsborough County. "We got little pieces of crayon," he recalls, "left-overs from the white schools. We got fourth and fifth generation books, with pages missing.

We were our own custodians, sweeping the floors." He lived six blocks from a white high school, but he had to put down a false address and walk or hitchhike 11 miles into neighboring Polk County to get a high school education. "And busing," he says, "I know about that too. When I graduated from Florida A&M, the legislature paid my tuition to Columbia University to keep me out of the University of Florida—and they bought me a bus ticket, to make sure I got there. Yeah, I know about busing. I was bused all the way to New York City."

Leaning back in his chair, he has the self-assured smile of a man who knows he is right. "I'm convinced," he says, "that a kid who goes from an inner-city neighborhood to a school in an upper-class neighborhood in the suburbs, when he sees the extremes, will do one of two things: he will be motivated to try harder and do better and have more, he'll raise his curiosity and his aspirations—or else it'll be a depressant. I bet on the raised aspirations. The only way to be sure blacks get a fair share of the pie is to be there where the pie is being sliced."

VIII Profiles In Change

(Editorial Note: The briefer city profiles which make up this section were authored by working newspersons who have written about the school desegregation process for their newspapers. Their by-lines follow their reports.)

Anniston, Alabama: Wounds To Heal

After eight years of backing away from desegregation and two years of living with it, Anniston school officials say they're now getting back to their basic work: educating children.

Desegregation, when it finally came, was tense at first—but peaceful. Now the tension is gone, and educators seem to take pride in the way things have worked. "I think people in Boston would gladly give their interest in hell to trade places with us," says Anniston High School Principal Robert Whitehead.

The Reverend N. Q. Reynolds, a black minister and civil rights leader who now serves as chairman of the Anniston Board of Education, says, "Once they decided it was something they would have to do, everyone buckled down and started working, and worked beautifully together."

Anniston, with a population of 31,000 (34 percent black), is located in northeast Alabama, 60 miles from Birmingham. The city is surrounded by semi-rural Calhoun County, which has a population of more than 100,000, about 10 percent black.

The city maintained a dual school system until the mid-1960s. As a result of HEW enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, some "freedom of choice" desegregation began in 1965. In 1967, Anniston became one of the 99 Alabama school systems involved in *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, a statewide suit. Three years later, after many alternatives were proposed by the U.S. Department of Justice, the school system and the black community, a plan to disestablish the dual schools was ordered into effect.

The Justice Department was not happy with the plan, because it left most of the schools either predominantly white or overwhelmingly black. School officials, though, expressed public satisfaction. Superintendent John L. Fulmer told newspaper reporters he felt racial problems, as far as the schools were concerned, were "almost passé." At the time, however, formerly all-white Anniston High School was still about 80 percent white, and formerly all-black Cobb High had 1,120 blacks and only 13 whites.

Further court action and out-of-court negotiation led in 1973 to yet another plan — the one that is now in force.

Under the plan, five of the 11 elementary schools (three of them originally for whites) were closed, and Johnston Junior High School was converted to an elementary school to accommodate most of the students from the five closed schools. Anniston and Cobb high schools were paired, with senior high students going to Anniston. At Cobb, an older school located in a black residential area, a special effort was made to strengthen the curriculum in mathematics, languages and the sciences.

The plan left several elementary schools racially identifiable. As a result, the Justice Department has kept the court case open, and has required changes in the plan from year to year. Two of the elementary schools were paired last fall. Two others are still segregated. One is all white, and sits on the opposite side of a range of hills from the rest of the system; the other is nearly all black, and is almost equally as isolated. The school system is under orders to look for a way to desegregate the two schools, but no specific plan has yet been suggested. Fulmer, the superintendent, says that, in view of present trends in the courts, he doesn't believe anything will be done.

Rev. Reynolds, the board chairman, says he wishes the Justice Department would back off a little and let the school system have time to plan for the future. "Every year since 1967," he says, "we have been monitored and required to make some additional changes in the desegregation pattern. That in itself is a hardship."

Nonetheless, Reynolds sees nothing but progress ahead for the school system. He believes that integration has ceased to be a problem: "As we get some of the wounds healed — and they do heal more and more with time — and get some of the hangups out of our minds, we'll have nothing but progress."

A group of Anniston High juniors and seniors, in a discussion of the pros and cons of desegregation, concluded that it has been mostly beneficial to them. No tension remains, they said, although they are aware at times of a "them" and "us" attitude in themselves, and of what might be called — with some irony — *de facto* segregation. The school's basketball team, for example, is all-black; white youngsters who like basketball play at the YMCA.

At the elementary level, things are somewhat different. Mauvelene Phillips, the principal at Johnston Elementary, says children in the school are working well together: "We have seen improvement in the situation. Each group tends to accept the other more freely than they once did. They cooperate together."

Today, in addition to having its first black school board chairman, the system has a black assistant superintendent and a black principal at Cobb, as well as at two of the elementary schools. According to school officials, the faculty in the system — and in each school — is approximately two-thirds white and one-third black.

The population of Anniston, while falling in recent years, has remained a steady two-thirds white. But the

student body in the schools has gradually become more black. Between 1961 and 1967, black enrollment increased by about 600, while white enrollment fell by 800. Since 1967, both black and white enrollment has fallen — the former by almost 500, the latter by almost 2,000. Over the entire period since 1961, total enrollment has dropped from 8,000 to 5,400, and the schools have shifted from 65 percent white to 55 percent black.

Private and parochial schools in Anniston have absorbed some of the whites who left the city's schools, but Superintendent Fulmer believes most of the loss has been to surrounding Calhoun County, which has more than 11,000 students, less than 10 percent of whom are black. Fulmer expresses some concern tnat continued white flight will lead to a "tipping" situation in which the system could become almost all-black. Reynolds believes factors other than white flight are involved.

"It has become a whipping stone for the system," he says. "I think a majority of them would have gone anyway, though, even without desegregation. It was a contributing factor, but not a major one."

Reynolds believes the city of Anniston could help matters by annexing parts of the county. Another possible move — merger of the city and county schools — has been discussed publicly on occasion, but no such change is now in prospect.

The school principals say there has been no increase in discipline problems attributable to desegregation. At Anniston High, Robert Whitehead says discipline there is related to social factors divorced from desegregation.

The system has added some remedial classes to the curriculum in recent years, particularly in reading and mathematics. Even so, many children — particularly black children — did not do well in the first stages of desegregation, according to Fulmer. He believes overall performance has improved since then, however, and he says younger students whose entire school experience has been in a desegregated setting are doing well, though "maybe not as well as they should."

Standardized test scores have been dropping since 1969 in both city and county schools — a fact that cannot be explained by desegregation, since the county schools are overwhelmingly white. Fulmer says he has no racial breakdown of test scores to indicate how students have fared since desegregation and some school officials believe it is too early to make comparisons.

Fulmer says he gets few calls these days from parents concerned with desegregation-related problems. In coming months, however, one potential controversy does face the school system. It has to do with the need to replace Cobb Junior High with a modern facility. The school board owns ample land in a white residential area adjacent to Anniston High, and there is some sentiment for building there. Many blacks are opposed to that; they say whites always want to move important institutions out of the black community. Some whites also are opposed, on the ground that they don't want so many children in their area of town. A satisfactory solution remains to be worked out.

— Judy Johnson
Anniston *Star*

Austin, Texas: Waiting For The Court

Desegregation in Austin lurched to a rocky beginning in 1971 when the city's all-black junior and senior high schools were closed and their students were bused to all-white schools across town.

The desegregation plan, approved in federal district court, did not affect the city's elementary schools, or its sizable Mexican-American population, nor did it require whites to be bused. Legal arguments on those and other questions were taken to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The case has been resting there for nearly three years.

The initial change was accompanied by jeers, rock-throwing and boycotts. Now, things are quieter. The opening of schools last fall was uneventful, and a general calm prevails, marred only by occasional flare-ups between small gangs of blacks and whites at the district's two or three most overcrowded schools.

"We have moved from the stage where our principal concerns were dealing with physical confrontation," says Superintendent Jack L. Davidson. "Now there is greater concentration on the academic and extracurricular participation of all students in all phases of the school program."

Among the problems left to ponder are the high rate of dropouts and pushouts among minorities, the sparse sprinkling of minorities in extra-curricular activities, and low achievement test scores among all three racial groups.

Austin is a city of 300,000 people. Its school system enrolls 59,000 students — an increase of 4,000 since desegregation began — and the racial ratios have changed only slightly in recent years. Whites make up 63 percent of the total (a decrease of 2 percent since 1970), Mexican-Americans are 22 percent (an increase of 2 percent), and blacks comprise 15 percent. White flight and private schools have had no significant effect on public school enrollment.

About 15,000 Austin students are bused to school, including some black and Chicano students who participate in a minority-to-majority transfer program. Only 2,200 students are bused as part of the desegregation plan, and almost all of them are black. At the elementary level there are five all-black schools, and about a third of the 60 elementary schools either have a relative handful of whites (5 percent or less) or a preponderance of them (95 percent or more).

At the secondary level, blacks make up between 9 and 30 percent of the enrollment in formerly all-white schools. Most of the Mexican-American junior and senior high school students are concentrated in East Austin schools.

There is a high attrition rate among both blacks and Chicanos, evidenced by two sets of figures. First, Mexican-Americans make up 25 percent of the elementary school enrollment, but only 17 percent of the

high school student total. And second, black students received 54 percent of the long-term suspensions last year. In short, there is a dropout problem among Chicanos and a pushout problem facing blacks.

Student participation in extracurricular activities is another problem in the schools. Such programs as band, pep squad, student council and honor society attract plenty of whites, but disproportionately small numbers of minority students.

Scores from standardized achievement tests indicate a slight drop by all three racial groups in the past three years. School officials see no connection between desegregation and test performance. Schools with high percentages of minority students tend to be clustered at the bottom of the achievement score rankings. Average scores from the predominantly white schools are higher, but still below the national average.

The percentage of black and Mexican-American teachers in the system has inched upward since desegregation began, but the current totals do not please either group. Blacks comprise 14 percent of the total professional staff, and Chicanos only 7 percent; at the classroom level, the percentages are slightly higher. Representatives of both minority groups have accused the school district of discrimination in hiring; school officials say there is a lack of qualified applicants, and recruiting efforts have not been highly successful. In the top echelons of the school district administration, there is one black and one Mexican-American among the five assistant superintendents, and one black and two Mexican-Americans among 19 department directors.

The decrease in confrontations and racial incidents in the secondary schools, says Superintendent Davidson, is a result of two things: "People having the opportunity to adjust to the new situation, and new services provided by the district as a result of desegregation." Tri-ethnic student human relations committees operate in each secondary school, coordinating activities designed to foster positive attitudes toward desegregation. There is also a school-community liaison program staffed by a tri-ethnic team of 10 persons who work to improve relations among the ethnic groups throughout the district. Several other programs, financed largely by federal funds, are focused on reading and mathematics problems, communication skills, extra-curricular activity participation, attendance problems and special learning problems of bilingual and migrant students.

"There seems to be a greater awareness on the part of most of our population of the desirability and the necessity to make desegregation work to everybody's advantage," Davidson says. He adds that although desegregation "hasn't materially enhanced or hurt the cognitive achievement of Austin students, it has made school a more realistic representation of what the community is and should be."

Still, it is generally acknowledged that only partial school desegregation has taken place in Austin, and school officials have been inclined to wait for directives from the courts, rather than to take the initiative on the issue. Bertha Means, a supervisor in the secondary schools and a respected civic leader in the black community, believes the various programs and services the schools have started in recent years have promoted desegregation, but she thinks more needs to be done. So does M. G. Bowden, the Anglo director of elementary education, who says "more integration needs to take place."

The Rev. Marvin Griffin, the only black on the seven-member board of school trustees, says Austin "has not fulfilled the mandate of the Supreme Court because we haven't touched the elementary schools." Gus Garcia, the only Mexican-American member of the board, also criticizes the current desegregation plan, saying it excludes grades one through five and requires one-way busing. Garcia would like to see the schools which have reached at least a 25 percent minority enrollment without busing be designated as integrated schools.

In New Orleans, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has been stymied for more than three years by the Austin case. Part of the conflict there concerns the legal status of Mexican-Americans, who have not been subjected to statutory segregation as blacks have.

— Lynne Flocke
Austin *American-Statesman*

Bogalusa, Louisiana: Still Uncomfortable

Gradually since the mid-1960s, desegregated schools in Bogalusa have become an acceptable, if not robust, social institution. It is debatable whether they were ever destined to be anything more than a federally-enforced anomaly, bringing together the rough-edged whites and blacks of this milltown community in an uncomfortable atmosphere.

Bogalusa, on the toe of Louisiana's boot-like configuration, touches the piney woods and sand loam of southern Mississippi. There is a hardtack mentality indigenous to the land, a kind of raw frontier atmosphere in which unskilled whites have long battled with blacks for livelihood in the same kinds of jobs. For the past two and a half decades, the town has been dominated by one industrial citizen, Crown Zellerbach, which converts pine trees into Bogalusa brown kraft paper and the paper into grocery bags and corrugated boxes.

Initially, a court-ordered plan of "freedom of choice" desegregation came to Bogalusa in the fall of 1965. Fighting broke out between whites and the dozen or so blacks who transferred into the previously all-white schools. Several of the more militant white students were put under injunction by the federal court for harassing the blacks, and for some the injunction was in force until they graduated.

Total desegregation of the city's schools, based on a plan submitted by the all-white school board, was finally ordered by the federal court for the fall of 1969. Of the 5,157 students in the system that fall, 38 percent were black. Enrollment has fallen by a total of about 500 since then, but the black ratio has also fallen—by one percentage point.

School Superintendent Frank Mobley says the loss of students is not a result of desegregation or of white

flight to private schools, but of a general decline in population involving blacks as much as whites. Private schools have not been a factor; American Academy, an all-white school, had a graduating class of 16 last year.

Mobley maintains that since he became superintendent in 1971, the desegregation plan has been fully implemented. "There are no more all-white or all-black schools," he says. "The percentages of blacks range from 20 to 30 percent in some schools to as much as 45 percent in others."

Under the initial plan, two relatively new all-black schools in black neighborhoods were closed. "The black community went along with the idea of not having any totally black schools," says Andrew Moses, a black radio station manager, "but we didn't like having to lose the schools in the black neighborhoods."

Among more militant blacks, there are some bitter critics of what Mobley calls "full integration." Mrs. Gayle Jenkins, a black mother and secretary of the Bogalusa Voters League, is one. "We are supposed to be integrated," she says, "but it is integrated on the outside and segregated on the inside. From an educational standpoint, we feel we have some of the best teachers among blacks, but they are limited. There are, for instance, no black males teaching in the elementary schools, and it was not until this past year that we had a black named principal of an elementary school."

Mrs. Jenkins contends that there are discriminatory hiring practices affecting teachers and administrative personnel. "They are hiring whites," she says, "but they find some excuse—such as they can't find black specialists—not to hire blacks."

Mobley defends the hiring practices in the system. "We have three black assistant principals, as well as one black elementary principal," he says. "We don't have any blacks in supervisory positions at this time because we were overstaffed and we're not hiring any people."

A. Z. Young, a long-time black activist in Bogalusa, expresses views similar to those voiced by Mrs. Jenkins. "We have physical integration," he declares, "but not mental integration. I'm afraid that is still a long way off."

Young says a pattern is developing in the school system: "When a black is in charge of any activity, such as track coach, the whites don't participate." Furthermore, he says, too many young blacks who graduate from the schools "wind up" in the ghettos up North, or on skid row, or have to go into service. We aren't getting as many to go to college now as we did when we had black schools."

Young worries about Bogalusa being "boxed in," culturally and economically: "We have no interstate highway, no airlines, no trains, and only two buses a day. The people who generally come here can't make it anywhere else in the world." From a black standpoint, Crown Zellerbach has been a good employer and a positive force for racial justice—but it is gradually cutting back on employment.

Still, there is some optimism about the future of the school system. Two years ago, the voters passed a $4.5 million school bond issue to finance modernization and construction of school facilities. Superintendent Mobley says it is significant "that we had one of the few school bond issues to pass anywhere around this area in the past few years."

Mobley also asserts that the school system does not have "any real discipline problems now," as it has had in the past. "We have our share, but I don't think it is much different than schools all over the nation. This year, we feel we are having our best year. Each year has gotten a little better."

Shortly before last Christmas, there was an incident in which a white boy stabbed a black boy. In the disturbance which followed, only a small number of students became involved. The federal judge in whose court the Bogalusa school desegregation case has been handled was brought into the controversy to assure fairness in the settling of the incident by school officials. Most observers appeared not to see the affair as being racially oriented.

Blacks are still concerned that they have no representation on the elected school board, even though they have offered capable candidates in the past two elections. "The feeling was that it was time for a black to be on the school board," says Al Hansen, managing editor of the Bogalusa *Daily News*. "But when whites got to the polls, they just couldn't do it."

Moses, the black radio station manager, got a very respectable vote last time, as did Murkel Sibley, a black executive at Crown Zellerbach. But a majority of the registered voters are white, and blacks see that as an insurmountable obstacle as long as school board members are elected at large. A lawsuit is now on file in federal court to require that single-member districts be created for each of the five board posts.

Inside the schools, the two problem areas academically are reading and mathematics. Some classes are almost all-black or all-white. In extra-curricular activities, the chorus is mostly black, the band is mostly white, and the drama club is well mixed. Last year, a white boy and a black girl had the leading roles in the school play. Whites and blacks in the Bogalusa schools are still not entirely comfortable with one another, but the worst hostilities and inequities of the past appear to have been reduced.

W. F. Minor
New Orleans *Times-Picayune*

Nashville, Tennessee: Resegregation

Every year, Nashville school officials predict white flight will end. But every fall, they find more empty seats in inner-city schools and more over-crowded classrooms in the suburbs.

"I don't know where it is going to stop," says C. R. Dorrier, chairman of the board of education. "Each year I think it will be the year it will stop, but it doesn't happen."

Since court-ordered desegregation went into effect

for the Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County school system in 1971, seven inner-city schools have been closed. Yet, there are empty seats in the formerly all-black schools that remain open there, while in the suburbs portable classrooms abound, and some children have been served lunch in the hallways because the cafeteria has become a classroom.

Resegregation is one glaring fault in Nashville's busing plan—not that the problem was unforeseen. When U. S. District Court Judge L. Clure Morton handed down the desegregation plan, he ordered rezoning of only about two-thirds of the county's 141 schools. He included only enough white schools to break down the racial identity of the black schools in the inner city. Many suburban schools in the outer reaches of the county were unaffected.

Avon N. Williams Jr., attorney for the plaintiffs, presented an alternative plan that would have involved nearly all the schools in the county, so that resegregation could not easily occur. But the judge balked at bus rides of more than an hour. Instead, he said he would stop resegregation by preventing new construction and expansion of those suburban schools not included in the busing order. There would be no classroom space for growth in the suburbs.

That didn't deter the whites, however. Apartments and condominiums sprang up in what once had been farm land, and the schools there somehow made room for the influx of students.

More than a dozen new private schools, most of them church-related, were opened, and established private and parochial schools saw their enrollments increase. Many white families left Davidson County altogether, moving to surrounding counties which had lower tax bases and no busing for desegregation purposes. The border counties suddenly found themselves with the same problem as the Nashville suburbs: overcrowding.

"We tried to pin down the number of students we lost that we could attribute directly to integration," said Elbert D. Brooks, the director (superintendent) of Nashville-Davidson County schools. "We figured 6,800 the first year (enrollment was about 95,500) and 2,600 the second year. By the third year, we felt we got equilibrium — we gained as many as we lost." Still, the school system has continued to lose white students, whether or not desegregation is the cause. Since 1970-71, black enrollment has remained stable at about 23,500 but white enrollment has decreased by more than 15,000, from almost 72,000 to about 56,500.

Under the plan approved in 1971 by Judge Morton, no school was supposed to be more than 44 percent black. But when schools opened that fall, so many whites failed to show up that 10 of the schools were majority-black. Today, in the fifth year of the plan, there are 24 schools in which the black enrollment ranges from just over 50 percent to almost 95 percent.

Board chairman Dorrier says he now believes the judge made a mistake in not including all of the suburban schools in the desegregation plan. "Right now, we think we would improve things if we integrated the suburbs," he says. "We would have to hitch up our britches, but we don't have the nerve or the funds to do it—primarily the nerve. To correct the situation now, we would have to chase the people with buses, rezoning each year."

Williams, one of the ablest constitutional and civil rights attorneys in the country, says it is "time for the white people to take the initiative. It is always black people who make the sacrifice and take the punishment. Black people are tired of getting kicked in the ass."

Nashville school officials *have* taken the initiative on the high school level. They are planning and constructing a ring of high schools equidistant from the inner city and the suburbs, and those schools, when completed, should closely reflect the system's overall white-black ratio, which now stands at about 71-29. But no substantial initiative has been taken with the more difficult problem posed by the elementary schools, which do not serve large geographical areas as high schools do.

There are other negative aspects to the desegregation plan. Williams is still unhappy that younger black children are bused in disproportionate numbers. Because of the way the plan is structured, black children are bused out of the inner city for the first four years of elementary school, and white children are bused into the city for grades five and six.

The plan also created a number of one- and two-grade schools, and that is thought to be one contributing factor in a general decline in parental support. PTA membership has fallen in the past five years from about 50,000 to below 30,000, according to Metro PTA Council President Betty McCauley.

In 1971, the school system encountered a major problem because it didn't have enough buses to implement the rezoning plan, and the Metro Council refused year after year to appropriate money for new buses. To make the plan work, the school system had to stagger school opening times between 7 a.m. and 10 a.m., so the buses could make several runs each.

The drop in enrollment—from 95,789 in 1969 to 80,165 in 1975—reduces the amount of money Nashville schools get from the state, and that complicates further the system's already severe budgeting problems.

In spite of these drawbacks, school officials say the desegregation plan has worked. "We have held our own in education," Dorrier says, "and we have gotten the gains on the integration of the races, having them live and work together. We have had that progress, although I can't see any signs of improving education."

Nashville's desegregation plan did not cost black administrators their jobs, as happened in some other cities. The number of black principals in 1975 remains the same as in 1971; the number of black assistant principals has more than doubled.

With all the pluses and minuses, the thing that nags Nashville is the fear of continuing resegregation—the fear that more schools will "tip" to majority-black, triggered by another mass exodus of white students.

Avon Williams places part of the blame for re-

segregation on the courts. "The Supreme Court was wrong in the *Swann* case in saying that once a 'unitary' system was established, the court had to do nothing," he says. He maintains that since the court is rectifying discrimination imposed over a 50- to 100-year period, it should retain jurisdiction over several years and make adjustments as needs arise.

School officials point out that the federal court still does have jurisdiction in the Nashville case. Since the 1971 busing order, however, little has been added to the lengthy court record in the litigation, which is now 20 years old.

For his part, Williams says he is reluctant to go back to court at this point. He says the school board has the responsibility to make necessary changes, rather than the black plaintiffs.

The school board has attempted, on occasion, to develop a "comprehensive school plan" with integration as a priority. But many parents and politicians have persistently opposed bringing the suburban schools into the busing plan. Nashville's former mayor, Beverly Briley, did not reappoint the two white school board members who generally supported such a change. As Dorrier said, it takes nerve.

—Frank Sutherland
Nashville *Tennessean*

Norfolk, Virginia: "For The Benefit of Everybody"

When U. S. District Court Judge John A. MacKenzie declared on February 14, 1974, that the Norfolk school system was unitary and that "racial discrimination through official action has been eliminated," he shut the book on one of the longest school desegregation cases in the country.

For almost 19 years, the Norfolk School Board had been involved in litigation initiated by 101 black parents and children who wanted an end to "separate but equal" education. The 1956 case bore the name of Leola Pearl Beckett, a black seventh-grader who grew up without ever attending an unsegregated school.

Step by step over two decades, successive court orders forced the school board to desegregate its schools, to take positive steps to desegregate classrooms and faculties, to bus as a means of ending racial imbalance, to provide free transportation, and finally to pay legal fees to attorneys for the plaintiffs in the case.

In retrospect, many persons closely associated with the Norfolk public schools say desegregation has gone fairly smoothly.

"It was unusually smooth when you compare it to other cities of our size and racial makeup," says John C. McLaulin, the assistant superintendent for research and planning. "Comparatively speaking, there were very few instances of violence and I can't remember any community-instigated incidents."

But the road the schools traveled between 1956 and 1974 was rocky at several points along the way. In September 1958, for instance, Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. used the state's "massive resistance" laws to close six all-white junior and senior high schools and lock out 10,000 Norfolk students rather than allow 17 blacks to enter the schools. After a federal judge ruled the anti-desegregation laws unconstitutional, the schools quietly desegregated in February of 1959, but half the members of the "Lost Class of '59" never finished their senior year.

Another sharp turn of events came in 1970 when the school system—again under court order—began busing students in an effort to increase desegregation. Vocal but nonviolent civic groups protested and threatened to boycott the opening of school. In the 15 months that followed, the school system lost 7,000—almost one-fourth—of its white students.

In the first year of busing for desegregation purposes, approximately 11,000 students were transported. Now, the total is about 24,000, with the increase being made necessary by changes in the desegregation plan.

The decline in public school enrollment which followed the initiation of cross-town busing was accompanied by a sharp enrollment increase in the area's private schools, many of which sprang up as a direct result of desegregation. At the peak, an estimated 12,000 Norfolk children were attending the more than 50 private and parochial schools in Norfolk and the nearby cities of Virginia Beach, Portsmouth and Chesapeake, and the overwhelming majority of them were middle-class whites.

But flight, sudden and severe when it began in the early 1970s, has now tapered off. In the fall of 1973, school officials reported the return of 850 students from private and parochial schools, and the following year, another 1,000 reportedly returned. No accounting of returning students was kept in 1975, but a school spokesman expressed the belief that enrollment is no longer seriously affected by white flight.

In the past 10 years, Norfolk's public school population has declined from about 55,500 in 1965 to 54,700 in 1970 and to 47,400 in 1975. At the same time, the percentage of black students has increased—but not to the 70 or 75 percent level some predicted as a result of total desegregation. Black percentages went from about 40 in 1965 to 45 in 1970, and to 52 last fall. Between 1974 and 1975, the number and percentage of both blacks and whites in the schools remained more or less unchanged. Between 40 and 45 percent of Norfolk's 300,000 citizens are black.

This year, black-white ratios in the five senior high schools, 10 junior highs and 49 elementary schools are reasonably close to the 52-48 ratio for the system as a whole. Black percentages range from 22 to 69 in a few individual schools, but most are near the 50-50 mark. Some teachers, administrators and board members say, however, that the racial ratios don't tell the whole story.

"We've desegregated the schools," says the Rev. Joseph N. Green, Jr., one of two blacks on the seven-member school board, "but I do not feel we've integrated the schools. I think we've done a good job through busing of putting the races together physically. But integration means people are working together

harmoniously and cooperatively. I don't think this has really come about. That which separated us in the past to a great extent is still present."

At the elementary level, children appear to work and play together without racial self-consciousness, but at the secondary level, social segregation is more apparent. "They sit in their little group and we sit in ours," shrugged one high school student. "Integration, it doesn't mean anything." Some say this self-segregation simply mirrors a society in which racial divisions remain deep. The distinctly racial character of most neighborhoods in and around Norfolk would seem to support that view.

In the desegregation process, most of the formerly all-black schools have survived, and most of the black principals have retained their positions—contrary to what has happened in many other parts of Virginia. In 1974-75, 26 of the city's 67 principals were black —roughly the same as before desegregation. Only about one-third of the more than 900 secondary-school teachers were black, however, and in the central administrative offices of the system, blacks held only three of the top 15 or so positions, including one of the five assistant superintendent posts.

Blacks and whites both are concerned about the disproportionate involvement of black students in school disciplinary matters. Almost 80 percent of the students who were suspended and subject to expulsion in 1971-72 were black, and in the years since then, that pattern has remained essentially unchanged. There are no simple explanations for those statistics, and no quick remedy to the problem appears likely.

Busing has been seen as the source of several problems in the schools. Some parents worry about kindergarten and primary students who are bused as much as eight miles across town. Some students say school spirit has been weakened because most of those who ride buses can't stay after school or come back at night for extracurricular activities. Busing is also said to be responsible for the decline of parental involvement in school activities and in parent-teacher associations.

In spite of the nagging problems, though, most of those who watch the schools closely appear to believe the advantages of desegregation outweigh the disadvantages. They say children can now learn about each other and from each other, that all children now have equal access to materials, facilities and educational opportunities, and that all have benefitted from a strengthening of school programs to accommodate a diverse student population.

There is also evidence of academic improvement. Assistant superintendent Robert M. Forster, in comparing standardized achievement test scores from 1971 and 1973, noted an increase in the average reading score of black students (from 74.4 to 81.9, on a national norm of 100) and also of white students (from 92.3 to 96.7).

Vincent J. Thomas, who was chairman of Norfolk's school board during much of the litigation and now is chairman of the State Board of Education, credits Norfolk and other public school systems with having "far outdistanced any other public or private institution in creating and maintaining a truly integrated environment."

Lillian M. Brinkley, a Norfolk elementary school principal, acknowledges that the process has been painful at times, and that it isn't finished. But she adds: "I think all of us someday—we may be in our graves—will realize it has been for the benefit of everybody."

—Kay McGraw
Norfolk *Ledger-Star*

Meridian, Mississippi:
Mixed Schools, Mixed Feelings

The Meridian public schools have become, since full desegregation in 1970, one of Mississippi's showcase unitary systems, an example of blacks and whites being educated together in almost equal numbers with relatively little friction.

Yet there are some people, especially blacks, who contend that the unitary aspect is more superficial than genuine, that blacks are short-changed in the educational process and in teaching jobs and policy-making positions.

Meridian, like many other Mississippi systems, initially began its desegregation process in the fall of 1966 under an ordinary freedom of choice federal court order. In May, 1967, the order was amended and strengthened to comply with the uniform freedom of choice decree required of all systems in the Fifth Circuit. When in 1968 the U. S. Supreme Court outlawed freedom of choice, the federal court in Mississippi declined to hold a hearing. On appeal, the Fifth Circuit in August, 1968, ordered a hearing, but another year slipped by. U.S. District Court Judge Harold Cox, one of the most resistant federal judges on the bench, refused to disapprove of the continued use of freedom of choice, despite the fact that Meridian High had only 54 blacks in an enrollment of 1,600, five of the twelve elementary schools had only a scattering of black pupils, and every other school was completely segregated. On appeal again, the Fifth Circuit in July, 1969, held freedom of choice to be constitutionally impermissible and directed the lower court to request HEW to prepare plans for the court by August, 1969. HEW prepared the plans for Meridian and 32 other school systems, but in the courtroom, the Justice Department requested that the plans not be implemented that fall because to do so would create chaos and confusion. Behind the scenes, Mississippi Senator John Stennis had threatened to abandon the fight as floor manager of the administration's $20 billion military procurement bill in the midst of hectic debate unless the Mississippi school systems, including his own Kemper County, were allowed another year. President Nixon had conferred with Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird and Attorney General John Mitchell and then had directed HEW Secretary Robert Finch to write a letter against the prompt implementation of the plans HEW itself had drawn up. The Justice Department then urged the court to delay for a year. By the

time the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, the 1969 school term had already begun. A unanimous court in the famous *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* decision ordered Meridian and the 32 other Mississippi school systems to implement the HEW plans during the middle of the school year, declaring that there must first be a conversion to a unitary system at once and any objections to the plans would have to come later. About 1,000 whites fled to private schools in January, 1970, leaving the public system with a total of about 5,300 whites and 4,800 blacks. Over the next four years, white enrollment fell by another 800, but black enrollment also dropped (by about 300), and the result was an almost even white-black ratio. Those proportions are still holding. A declining birth rate among whites has affected first grade enrollment, but that loss has been partially offset by the return of about 10 percent of the estimated 1,600 whites who had gone to private and parochial schools.

The relatively small loss of whites, the return of some of them and the current stability in enrollment are encouraging to Superintendent of Schools Clyde Muse. He says the white power structure of Meridian, "which could have afforded to send their children to private schools," chose instead to support public education. "The people here said they weren't going to let the massive integration tear up their schools, they were going to make it work. That was one of the significant reasons I chose to come here." Prior to 1971, Muse was the superintendent in Hinds County, one of Mississippi's largest school systems.

Under the desegregation plan, two formerly all-black elementary schools were closed and later converted to "early childhood" centers. One white school was converted to a seventh-grade center. A junior college once operated by the district for black students is now a 10th-grade center. Most of the schools are now about evenly balanced racially, according to Muse, "although depending on housing patterns, several go as high as 60 or 65 percent black or white. Three elementary schools have become considerably blacker and one has become whiter." The two high school campuses are about 60 percent white.

During the first year of desegregation there were some disruptions, mostly at one junior high school. There has been little apparent friction in the past four years. "We think we have excellent discipline," Muse says. "There are no real problems. We treat every child alike, and we have certain acceptable standards of behavior. Regardless of race, we are going to be fair, but firm, and we are going to be consistent."

Mrs. Tom Jones, a white mother whose four children are in the public schools, is one who agrees with Muse. "I don't think we have had more than a minimal amount of trouble," she says. "I'm pleased with what my children are getting in the school system. I think my youngest child, who started school after the change took place, has had the easiest time of all."

Recalling the day desegregation began, Mrs. Jones said: "We were all concerned. Police and news people were there, but my fifth-grader said, 'Mother, there won't be any trouble. . . . All the trouble-makers have gone to the private schools'."

In the extracurricular activities of the schools, patterns of both racial cooperation and resegregation can be seen. Mrs. Jones maintains that white parents have taken care to see that blacks are included in school activities, and Muse says there has been "excellent student participation." Such activities as student council and homecoming involve both races, and more than once since 1970, the president of the high school student council has been a black. On the other hand, some athletic teams are close to becoming all-black, dances and parties staged by social clubs not officially sponsored by the schools remain largely segregated, and black and white students who get together at football games tend to go their separate ways afterward. Loss of interest and reduced participation in school affairs by parents of both races is also a matter of some concern.

Academics and employment are two areas about which blacks express the most dissatisfaction. Mrs. Hargie Davis, a black teacher who heads the science department at the school system's 10th-grade center, is disturbed that a large number of black students are put into remedial instruction programs, and spend most of their school day in all-black classes. "Once you're tagged remedial," she declared, "it seems to follow you until you leave school," and the label is sometimes applied unfairly to bright students, robbing them of motivation and incentive.

Obie Clark, president of the Meridian NAACP, has some strong thoughts on that subject. He says that although 253 of the 500 members of the 1974 graduating class were black, "only five of those black kids had taken chemistry and only seven had taken trigonometry." The majority of blacks and poor whites as well, Clark maintains, "are grouped out of the main curriculum," and the school board "doesn't want to talk to us about it. They deny they track students or group them, or label kids remedial to begin with and leave them, but we know they do." Many parents don't understand what is happening to their children in remedial programs, he said. "The kids are taking good grades home, but they're not getting anything to get them into college."

Muse denies that blacks are being tracked into a dead-end curriculum. "We encourage students to sign up for courses in which they can achieve," he says. "Some just don't want to take regular sciences or math, however, because they are more interested in service-oriented professions." He said a school psychologist evaluates students in the special education classes, "and some students move out, while others move in. We're in the business of helping the child achieve, not holding him back."

Scores from standardized tests, the superintendent says, show an overall improvement in student performance since desegregation.

In the area of employment, the NAACP's Clark says there are no blacks in top administrative positions (the superintendent and his four assistants are all white), and only 31 percent of the teachers are black. A complaint filed with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1972 charged the school system with discrimination in hiring and promotion of blacks. Clark says Superintendent Muse "refused to conciliate, took exception to the findings, and asked for help from the Mississippi congressional delegation." Recently, the EEOC dismissed the complaint. Clark says the commission "whitewashed the whole thing."

For his part, Muse says the fact that there are four black principals is evidence that blacks do have a voice in administrative affairs. He contends that the ratio of black to white teachers is "the same ratio which existed when desegregation was begun." The recent decision of the EEOC, he says, "sustains our position."

—W. F. Minor
New Orleans *Times-Picayune*

IX The South:
"Perhaps It Is Time For The South To Teach"

Within the 60-mile radius of a circle drawn around part of South Carolina's rural low country, it is possible to encompass the extremes of triumph and failure symbolic of this nation's attempt to abolish segregation and discrimination in education.

One town inside that circle is Summerton. A lawsuit initiated there 25 years ago subsequently was combined with four others, resulting in the U. S. Supreme Court's famous *Brown* decision outlawing segregated schools. Summerton school officials vowed to "keep the races separate," and for 16 more years, they did. In 1970, when biracial schools could no longer be avoided, the whites all pulled out and entered segregated private schools. In the public schools of Summerton now, there are about 2,125 black students—and four whites. In a quarter of a century, Summerton has not moved at all.

Another town in the circle is Lamar. In reaction to a school desegregation order there in March of 1970, a white mob overturned two school buses and terrorized the black children who had just disembarked from them. Order was restored, and the schools were kept open, but most of the whites left for private schools. Now, an increasing number return each year, and the community appears to be making an adjustment to desegregated schools. In five years, Lamar has moved a little.

Near the center of the circle is Hemingway, a town in Williamsburg County. Half of the students in its public schools are white, half are black. Academically, they are doing about as well as anybody's students, anywhere in the country. They are at peace with one another, and with themselves. They are poor but proud. The public schools of Hemingway and Williamsburg County offer dramatic proof that equal educational opportunity, quality education and desegregation can be achieved, even under the most difficult conditions. In seven years, Williamsburg County has moved, in the words of one of its school administrators, "a million miles."

Across the length and breadth of the South, in metropolitan centers and medium-size cities and small towns, the patterns from that South Carolina circle are being repeated: no movement, a little, a lot. In such places as Atlanta, New Orleans, Charleston and Houston, racial isolation in the schools is not only the dominant condition in the present; it is also apparently the wave of the future. In Memphis, Jackson, Richmond and other cities, efforts to achieve desegregation have been partially successful, but the massive movement of middle-class whites to adjacent school districts or to private schools has caused serious instability and economic loss. Yet in dozens of other communities, large and small, the overall direction of movement and change appears to be toward equity, toward stability, toward opportunity and quality, toward integration in the schools.

Miami. Greensboro, North Carolina. Greenville, South Carolina. Hope, Arkansas. Fayetteville, Tennessee. Water Valley, Mississippi. They are not integrated utopias with trouble-free public schools. They have enough problems and challenges to keep them occupied, enough unfinished business to last a lifetime. What is encouraging about these and other places is not so much what they have accomplished as where they appear to be headed, not their arrival at a final destination but their movement toward a livable future. One school administrator referred to his system's desegregation efforts as "gettting in a position to make progress." More than one educator in the cities and towns visited in connection with this report used the same phrase to describe their future hopes and expectations. In Charlotte, and again in Tampa, the phrase was "a viable city."

Every state is different. Every city, every town, every school system, even every individual school is different. No national formula for desegregation has emerged from the deliberations of judges, lawmakers, educators and research sociologists, because there *is* no national formula. Every asserted "principle" which has been put forth as a universal truth by one "expert" or another can be persuasively disproved by the evidence. It has been said that busing always leads to white flight, and Memphis is cited to prove the point—but Tampa contradicts it. It is argued that desegregation is not possible unless there is a white majority in the schools, and that once a school's black enrollment reaches a "tipping point," all the whites will leave and complete resegregation will occur. Atlanta supposedly proves that—but Williamsburg County and Little Rock's Central High disprove it. There is a prevalent belief that desegregation causes a deterioration in the quality of education, but the evidence from Williamsburg County shows a marked increase in quality. In fact the predominant conclusion from the case studies and profiles and surveys in this report is that there has been no decrease in the quality of education as a consequence of desegregation.

By the same token, the conventional wisdom about "alternatives" to busing and desegregation turn out to be, if anything, even less defensible than the "truths" about white flight and majority-black schools and quality education. The oldest alternative is "separate but equal," the ghost of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. It has become popular among many federal, state and local government officials who argue that equal educational

opportunity can best be achieved through large new financial investments in ghetto schools. Neither Congress nor the states have made such investments. They have, in fact, generally voted overwhelmingly against them. Gary Orfield, a research associate at the Brookings Institution in Washington, recently examined the performance of Congress in this area and concluded: "Even if one could ignore the Supreme Court's telling point that black schools will inevitably be seen and treated as unequal and inferior by the white majority, there is no disposition to increase the resources for ghetto education, even modestly."

"Freedom of choice" and "neighborhood schools," two other frequently proposed "alternatives," have not been shown to result in desegregation and equity. Freedom of choice is the exclusive possession of the affluent, who have the freedom to buy private education for their children and the choice to move away from desegregated schools. And neighorhood schools seldom work, for two reasons: not enough children live within walking distance of them, and most neighborhoods are still segregated, by economic class as well as by race.

There are, to repeat, no all-purpose formulas, and no realistic alternatives to desegregation. The alternatives, such as they are, come eventually to the same end: segregation, inequality, instability and failure—for individuals, for schools, for communities, for the nation.

Nevertheless, the prospect for a substantial American commitment to the goal of desegregation and equal educational opportunity seems dimmer now than at any time since the *Brown* decision was handed down 22 years ago. In the past three years, one branch of Congress or the other has passed bills which would limit the authority of the courts, restrict the use of busing for desegregation purposes, and even permit school districts now operating under court-ordered desegregation plans to seek further relief. In January, 1976, both houses approved an amendment to an appropriations bill which ostensibly places some limits on busing; the practical effects of the amendment are not yet clear. Numerous proposed constitutional amendments banning busing have been introduced in the House and Senate, and presumably can be brought to a vote in the future.

The Executive Branch, under President Ford's leadership, appears to have almost completely abandoned prosecution and enforcement activities in the area of school desegregation. Now and then, the Department of Justice or the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare responds to a complaint of discrimination. This past February, for example, the Justice Department sought to reopen a desegregation case in Aldine, a suburb of Houston, after an investigation showed apparent evidence of substantial continuing discrimination there. In the main, however, President Ford frequently expresses his opposition to busing and Attorney General Edward Levi says it may be time to "rethink" the ways to desegregate schools and "re-read" the *Swann* decision which legitimized busing, and the effect of that negative leadership on the bureaucracies under the command of the President and the attorney general is immobilizing.

In the courts, a confusing and often contradictory pattern of decisions has been handed down since *Swann*. District judges have ruled in favor of just about everything from racial balance to "separate-but-equal" segregation; appeals courts have tended more and more to affirm the decisions of the lower courts, and the Supreme Court has done likewise. Cases are now active at every level and in every section of the country, and collectively they present no discernible trend which suggests a satisfactory way out of the political-legal-judicial labyrinth.

At the higher academic levels, educational research experts disagree over conflicting findings, and a skeptical public, if it listens at all, seems inclined to dismiss the lot of them as self-serving camp followers of one ideology or another.

The press reflects all of this, and so do the public opinion polls. A recent Gallup Poll showed that a substantial majority of white parents, in and out of the South, do not object to having their children attend schools in which as many as half of the students are black. At the same time, polls also show that about three-fourths of the white parents in the country are opposed to busing as a means of getting white and black students into the same schools.

The schools are left, therefore, to sort out the complex problems of race and education by whatever means they can. The means they are employing are exceedingly diverse, and so are the results. Schools everywhere, from one end of the country to the other, exhibit the widest range of effectiveness and quality imaginable. Their classrooms and administrative offices and governing units are peopled by unsung heroes and heroines, uninspired time-servers, and unrestrained scoundrels. They have been called upon to do more for the nation's young people than they are capable of doing—to teach and inspire, but also to baby-sit and control; to impart factual knowledge and intellectual skills, but also moral and ethical values, patriotic indoctrination, and even religious beliefs; to provide the necessary tools for learning to read and write and cipher, but also for learning to play sports, drive a car, handle a job, cook a meal, and stay healthy.

Now they are also being called upon to provide a supportive atmosphere in which children of racially and socially and culturally diverse backgrounds will be able to live and work and learn together. It is a proper task for the schools, at least as fitting as most or all of the others just mentioned—but like the others, it cannot be done by the schools alone. Schools have too many problems of their own to be able to make high-quality integrated education an established fact against the wishes of the larger society. They are an inseparable part of society, and very nearly a mirror image of it, with all its strengths and flaws. Schools don't determine the character of society as much as society determines the character of schools.

That character is being formed now for 45 million

children and young people in the nation's 16,000 public school systems. It seems to be the mood of America's leadership and its citizens in general just now that the particular race and socio-economic class of individual students in individual schools should be the least of our concerns. We have too many other things to worry about, they seem to be saying. We are weary of race hassles. Let's let everybody go to school in their neighborhoods, or wherever they want to. Let's forget the whole thing, and maybe it will work itself out.

It won't. We may "settle" the school desegregation crisis in a thousand different ways, good and bad, but we can be certain that it will not be settled by ignoring it or wishing it away.

In the South, the federal courts have compelled attention to the problem of segregated schools. For that reason, and that reason alone, schools in the South are generally more desegregated than those in other parts of the country. The question now, for the region and the nation, is whether the modest gains which have been made will be consolidated and built upon, or whether the tide will be reversed and the gains wiped out.

The weight of the evidence in this report favors the choice to move forward with desegregation—not with a national formula fashioned by the courts, but with individually tailored plans put together by people who have been brought to the realization that they have no other choice if they want their public schools and their society to survive.

The South's report card in school desegregation is better than the North's but by no means outstanding. Much has been done poorly, sometimes deliberately; much that needs doing has not been done at all. Whites have carried the spear of resistance, but blacks have borne the brunt of change. Many black schools have been closed. Many black teachers and principals have been demoted or fired, and many others who should have been hired were not. (Samuel Ethridge of the National Education Association estimates that there are more than 2,000 fewer black principals and more than 30,000 fewer black teachers in the 17 Southern and border states than there would have been if equity had been made the guiding principles at the time of the *Brown* decision in 1954.) Blacks are bused far more than whites for the purpose of desegregation, and also left behind more often in deteriorating inner-city schools.

There are other problems as well, complex problems for which white racism is a tempting but not altogether satisfactory explanation. A much higher proportion of blacks than whites is grouped and tracked into classes for "slow learners" and the "educable mentally retarded." Undoubtedly, many children are labeled unfairly, and locked into dead-end classes permanently, and those decisions may often be made maliciously by biased whites in authority. But for a variety of reasons, a high proportion of black children do have learning problems that need special attention, and sometimes it is blacks in authority who make that determination. In the higher grades, advanced classes are often predominantly white or even all-white, but that does not always happen because blacks are denied admission to them. Many conscientious educators, black as well as white, acknowledge that some black students avoid the more challenging academic courses because of peer pressure or fear of failure, or a lack of confidence in their own ability.

Likewise, a disproportionately high number of blacks are punished in school—paddled, where that is permitted, or suspended, or expelled—and racial bias is again suspected as the primary cause. It is almost certainly a contributing factor in many cases, but not the only one. In urban school districts, discipline is a problem regardless of the race of the students, the teachers, the principals, and even the superintendents. Racial bias, by itself, does not fully explain either the punishment meted out by school authorities or the disruption and violence that occurs in schools.

Closer than the correlation between race and "slow learners" or race and "discipline problems" is the correlation between poverty and those issues. By far the most students who are behind in their studies or in trouble for misbehavior are those who, in the words of one black educator, "come to school with two strikes against them" and not all of them are black. The need is for sensitive teachers and administrators to identify the most pressing requirements of individual students and act decisively to serve them without resorting to stigmatizing labels and last-resort forms of punishment. Alternatives to routine tracking and routine suspensions for educationally and socially disadvantaged children of all races would represent a distinct advance for the public schools.

In some Southern school districts, those alternatives are being sought—if for no other reason than that the presence of racially and culturally different students has increased the problems and made the need for solutions compelling and unavoidable. If the South has had more experience with desegregation and its attendant problems, it should therefore have a better understanding of those problems—and a head start toward finding satisfactory solutions to them.

Admittedly, that is a hopeful view. In point of fact, some of the region's school systems have avoided facing desegregation and the hard challenges it presents. Others, faced by the challenges of desegregation, have failed. But some have made substantial and commendable progress in coping with them, and the experiences of those districts should give a measure of hope to all the rest.

Some of the burdens schools are confronted with have already been mentioned here, and so have some of the weaknesses and flaws in the educational structure. Considering the undercurrent of public dissatisfaction with schools in general, it could be argued that the system is simply not up to the challenge of desegregation, that the education profession and its institutions are incapable of handling the job. Sam Lucas of Memphis State University, a former teacher and administrator in the public schools, has an altogether different perspective of the capabilities of the education com-

munity. When the nation needed skilled manpower in agriculture, he says, it established the land-grant colleges; when it wanted to serve its veterans, it created the G.I. Bill program; when it wanted to get into space ahead of the Russians, it made massive commitments in mathematics and the sciences. Most of what was expected of our educational institutions in these programs was realized. "Educators and their institutions are a proficient lot," Lucas says, "successful at achieving goals [deemed to be] important." They have contributed to virtually every major American objective—including segregation. The failure of the schools to achieve full integration, he concludes, is not because they are incapable of it, but "simply because no decisions have been made to have it any other way."

At another level, the schools are often blamed for the ills of society. Currently, they are faulted by many people for such manifestations of youthful behavior as drug abuse, sexual promiscuity and disrespect for authority. The same kind of fallacious reasoning concludes that desegregation—or more bluntly, black youths—should be blamed for school violence, inferior education and white flight. Those problems, noted Marian Wright Edelman in a recent issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*, "are some of the very problems created by decades of segregation and discriminatory neglect."

That is a point worth repeating: it is not desegregation but segregation that is the root cause of instability and inequity and disruption, in the schools and in society. Segregation was what the Supreme Court, in the *Brown* decision, sought to correct.

It is also what hundreds of school systems in the South are attacking, albeit with varying degrees of enthusiasm and commitment. Some remain defiant, resistant, evasive, hostile to desegregation. Some mean well, but lack the necessary consciousness to be successful. Some are overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task. Scattered among the many, some truly exemplary institutions and individuals are winning the battle.

What makes the difference? There can be only one answer: people. The unsung heroes of successful school desegregation in the South can be found in many places. They are judges, lawyers, superintendents, board members, principals, teachers, students, parents, community leaders, ordinary citizens. Men and women, black and white. Where enough of those people have come together, things have begun to work. Sometimes the turning point was a key individual's expression of what the Constitution and the law and the courts require. Sometimes it was an understanding of the alternatives, and of what it will take to be a viable community in the future. Sometimes the difference was made by one person's courage to speak out.

It is rare to find a place where people speak of equality and balance and stability as the necessary preconditions for academic quality and social peace and progress. It is rare to find a place where people speak of wanting to achieve both equality and excellence, and unity without uniformity, and genuine diversity above all. It is rare to find a place where people recognize the goal of integration not as a bitter pill to be swallowed but as a positive asset that would serve the best interests of their community. But there are such places, and such people. In the South.

Some former critics of segregation have now begun to wonder aloud whether integration is such a good idea after all. It would be a tragic irony if they should succeed in stopping it, and once again compel the South to change in order to conform to a national mandate. Twice before in its history, it has had to submit to such a mandate. Both times, the issue was race. Both times, the South was wrong. Both times, it lost. Now, the issue is still race. But this time, the South is right.

The South has moved—not a million miles, but more than a little. There is much more to be done before quality and equality are the standard in the schools. But there is movement, and the general direction of it is correct.

In 1972, while Governor George Wallace of Alabama was taking his antibusing message to the American people on the presidential campaign trail, Governor Reubin Askew of Florida was quietly taking another message from the South to the nation.

> For many years now, the rest of the nation has been saying to the South that it is morally wrong to deprive any citizen of an equal opportunity in life because of his color. I think most of us have come to agree with that. But now the time has come for the rest of the nation to live up to its own stated principles. Only now are the other regions themselves beginning to feel the effects of the movement to eliminate segregation.
>
> I say that the rest of this nation should not abandon its principles when the going gets tough. I do not say this to be vindictive, I say it to be fair. The rest of the nation has sought to bring justice to the South by mandate and court order. Now perhaps it is time for the South to teach the same thing to other regions in a more effective way—by example.

Wallace's slogan was, "Send them a message." The message got through, loud and clear. It is worth hoping that somehow, the louder and clearer and more permanent message will be Askew's: ". . . it is time for the South to teach. . . "

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

SELECTED SAMPLE

(Institute for Social Research Florida State University Survey)

State	Number of School Districts (sampled)	Number of School Districts (returned)	Cumulative Enrollment (sampled)	Cumulative Enrollment (returned)
Alabama	18	8	105,245	40,480
Arkansas	51	20	102,541	16,164
Florida	10	8	388,695	379,276
Georgia	24	12	540,633	103,073
Louisiana	10	6	104,332	67,369
Mississippi	20	10	94,321	26,071
N. Carolina	21	17	168,622	157,155
S. Carolina	12	6	104,079	16,380
Tennessee	18	10	107,640	78,333
Texas	90	41	335,695	151,133
Virginia	18	11	125,293	43,504
Total	292*	149	2,177,096*	1,078,938*

**Figures taken from Education Directory, 1973-74 Public School Systems.*

APPENDIX 2

NAMES AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS
OF LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

(Institute for Social Research, Florida State University Survey)

ALABAMA

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Huntsville City	Huntsville, 35804	Madison	34,689	40
Tuscaloosa County	Tuscaloosa, 35401	Tuscaloosa	11,049	22
Chambers County	Lafayette, 36862	Chambers	5,392	16
Enterprise City	Enterprise, 36330	Coffee	5,043	11
Limestone County	Athens, 35611	Limestone	6,852	12
Talladega County	Talladega, 35160	Talladega	8,603	19
Clarke County	Grove Hill, 36451	Clarke	4,602	9
Fairfield City	Fairfield, 35064	Jefferson	2,834	5
Jasper City	Jasper, 35501	Walker	2,777	5
Opelika City	Opelika, 36801	Lee	4,180	8
Washington County	Chatom, 36518	Washington	4,173	10
Winston County	Double Spg, 35553	Winston	2,708	7
Dale County	Ozark, 36360	Dale	2,643	8
Andalusia City	Andalusia, 36420	Covington	2,381	4
Coosa County	Rockford, 35136	Coosa	2,438	6
Gunterville City	Gunterville, 35976	Marshall	2,384	4
Tallahassee City	Tallahassee, 36078	Elmore	1,552	4
Linden City	Linden, 36748	Marengo	945	3

NAMES AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

ARKANSAS

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Pulaski County Spec.	Little Rock, 72201	Pulaski	26,891	37
Fort Smith	Fort Smith, 72901	Sebastian	12,144	26
Hot Springs	Hot Springs, 71901	Garland	5,558	11
West Memphis	West Memphis, 72301	Crittenden	6,785	12
Cabot	Cabot, 72023	Lonoke	2,503	4
Harrison	Harrison, 72601	Boone	2,527	6
Marianna	Marianna, 72360	Lee	4,537	9
Stuttgart	Stuttgart, 72160	Arkansas	2,550	7
Alma	Alma, 72921	Crawford	1,523	2
Bald Knob	Bald Knob,72010	White	1,392	2
Berryville	Berryville, 72616	Carroll	1,181	2
Cross County	Cherry Valley, 72347	Cross	1,018	4
DesArc	DesArc, 72040	Prairie	1,046	2
Dumas	Dumas, 71639	Desha	2,380	4
Fairview	Camden, 71701	Ouachita	1,972	2
Hamburg	Hamburg, 71646	Ashley	1,331	3
Lake Hamilton	Pearcy, 71964	Garland	1,742	2
Marked Tree	Marked Tree, 72365	Poinsett	1,358	2
Morrilton	Morrilton, 72110	Conway	2,337	4
Ozark	Ozark, 72949	Franklin	1,149	2
Waldron	Waldron, 72958	Scott	1,583	2
Bay-Brown	Bay, 72411	Craighead	676	2
Carlisle	Carlisle, 72024	Lonoke	844	2
Delta Special	Watson, 71674	Desha	838	4
Fauke	Fauke, 71837	Miller	636	2
Gravette	Gravette, 72736	Benton	883	4
Hazen	Hazen, 72064	Prairie	715	2
Hoxie	Hoxie, 72433	Lawrence	910	2
Leachville	Leachville, 72438	Mississippi	642	2
Mansfield	Mansfield, 72936	Sebastian	840	2
Norphlet	Norphlet, 71759	Union	600	2
Rector	Rector, 72461	Clay	757	2
Stephens	Stephens, 71764	Ouachita	614	2
Yellville Summit	Yellville, 72687	Marion	661	2
Bauxite	Bauxite, 72011	Saline	564	2
Caddo Hills	Caddo Gap, 71953	Montgomery	486	2
Charleston	Charleston, 72933	Franklin	592	2
Danville	Danville, 72833	Yell	510	2
Desha-Drew	Lillan, 71670	Desha	397	2
Flippin	Flippin, 72634	Marion	485	2
Greenland	Greenland, 72737	Washington	513	2
Hartman	Hartman, 72840	Johnson	331	2
Kirby	Kirby, 71950	Pike	415	2
Magazine	Magazine, 72943	Logan	426	2
McNeil	McNeil, 71752	Columbia	420	2
Norfolk	Norfolk, 72658	Baxter	360	2
Phillips County	Helena, 72342	Phillips	472	2
Prattsville	Prattsville, 72129	Grant	310	2
Shirley	Shirley, 72131	VanBuren	357	2
Swifton	Swifton, 72471	Jackson	323	2
Wheatley	Wheatley, 72392	St. Francis	457	2

NAMES AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

FLORIDA

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Dade County	Miami, 33132	Dade	241,174	235
Pinellas County	Clearwater, 33518	Pinellas	89,640	110
Lee County	Fort Myers, 33701	Lee	23,488	34
Putnam County	Palatka, 32077	Putnam	10,324	16
Citrus County	Inverness, 32650	Citrus	5,440	9
Jackson County	Marianna, 32446	Jackson	7,992	11
Hernando County	Brooksville, 33512	Hernando	5,133	7
Washington County	Chipley, 32433	Washington	3,076	5
Glades County	Moore Haven, 33471	Glades	1,001	1
Union County	Lake Butler, 32054	Union	1,427	4

GEORGIA

Cobb County	Marietta, 30060	Cobb	46,649	57
Dougherty County	Albany, 31701	Dougherty	22,159	35
Cherokee County	Canton, 30114	Cherokee	7,939	13
Henry County	McDonough, 30253	Henry	6,283	12
Rockdale County	Conyers, 30207	Rockdale	5,749	7
Whitfield County	Dalton, 30720	Whitfield	9,571	15
Camden County	Woodbine, 31569	Camden	3,225	4
Dublin City	Dublin, 31021	Laurens	3,779	7
Franklin County	Carnesville, 30521	Franklin	3,090	6
Jeff Davis County	Hazlehurst, 31539	Jeff Davis	2,582	3
Meriwether County	Greenville, 30222	Meriwether	4,566	10
Tattnall County	Reidsville, 30453	Tattnall	3,314	6
Worth County	Sylvester, 31791	Worth	4,021	8
Brantley County	Nahunta, 31553	Brantley	1,715	3
Charlton County	Folkston, 31537	Charlton	1,897	4
Gilmer County	Ellijay, 30540	Gilmer	2,112	5
Jefferson City	Jefferson, 30549	Jackson	1,691	2
Marion County	Buena Vista, 31803	Marion	1,366	2
Pickens County	Jasper, 30143	Pickens	2,387	3
Talbot County	Talbotton, 31827	Talbot	1,495	4
Wheeler County	Alamo, 30411	Wheeler	1,242	3
Wilkinson County	Irwinton, 31042	Wilkinson	2,419	3
Baker County	Newton, 31770	Baker	856	2
Glascock County	Gibson, 30810	Glascock	526	1

LOUISIANA

Lafayette Parish	Lafayette, 70501	Lafayette	2?,140	38
Bossier Parish	Benton, 71006	Bossier	17,987	27
St. Tammany Parish	Covington, 70433	St. Tammany	17,259	31
Bogalusa City 67	Bogalusa, 70427	Washington	5,194	10
Jefferson Davis Par.	Jennings, 70546	Jeff. Dav. Par.	7,590	15
St. Charles Parish	Luling, 70070	St. Charles Par.	8,548	16
Webster Parish	Minden, 71055	Webster Parish	9,974	24
E. Feliciana Parish	Clinton, 70722	E. Feliciana Par.	3,711	11
W. Carroll Parish	Oak Grove, 71263	W. Carroll Par.	3,566	9
Tensas Parish	Saint Joseph, 71366	Tensas Parish	2,363	7
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NAMES AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

MISSISSIPPI

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Jackson Mun. Sep.	Jackson, 39205	Hinds	29,677	51
Greenville Mun. Sep.	Greenville, 38701	Washington	10,207	12
Jones County	Laurel, 39440	Jones	8,011	13
Tupelo, Mun. Sep.	Tupelo, 38801	Lee	5,339	10
Brookhaven Mun. Sep.	Brookhaven, 39601	Lincoln	3,536	6
Forrest County	Hattiesburg, 39401	Forrest	4,992	10
Jefferson Davis Co.	Prentiss, 39474	Jefferson Davis	3,187	4
Madison County	Canton, 39046	Madison	4,052	7
Oxford Mun. Sep.	Oxford, 38655	Lafayette	2,751	4
South Panola Cons.	Batesville, 38606	Panola	3,987	4
West Point Mun. Sep.	West Point, 39773	Clay	3,599	3
Bolivar County No. 2	Benoit, 38725	Bolivar	1,106	1
Coffeeville Cons.	Coffeeville, 38922	Yalobusha	1,282	2
Franklin County	Meadville, 39653	Franklin	1,762	3
Luka Sep. Mun.	Luka, 38852	Tishomingo	1,061	1
Monroe County	Aberdeen, 39730	Monroe	2,378	5
North Tippah Cons.	Walnut, 38683	Tippah	1,357	3
Pontotoc County	Pontotoc, 38863	Pontatoc	2,240	2
Water Valley Cons.	Water Valley, 38965	Yalobusha	1,471	1
Yazoo County	Yazoo City, 39194	Yazoo	2,326	7

NORTH CAROLINA

Gaston County	Gastonia, 28052	Gaston	32,540	56
Catawba County	Newton, 28658	Catawba	11,268	19
Iredell County	Statesville, 28677	Iredell	10,272	19
Rowan County	Salisbury, 28144	Rowan	13,825	25
Guilford County	Greensboro, 27402	Guilford	23,296	38
Bertie County	Windsor, 27983	Bertie	5,395	14
Cleveland County	Shelby, 28150	Cleveland	8,662	18
Greenville City	Greenville, 27834	Pitt	5,535	9
Lee County	Sanford, 27331	Lee	7,489	13
Northampton County	Jackson, 27845	Northampton	5,863	14
Wilkes County	Wilkesboro, 28697	Wilkes	9,442	18
Caswell County	Yanceyville, 27379	Caswell	4,831	13
Eden City	Eden, 27288	Rockingham	4,928	9
Lexington City	Lexington, 27292	Davidson	4,315	9
Montgomery County	Troy, 27371	Montgomery	4,462	10
Shelby City	Shelby, 28150	Cleveland	4,738	10
Washington County	Plymouth, 27962	Washington	3,688	7
Yancey County	Burnsville, 28714	Yancey	2,719	9
Camden County	Camden, 27921	Camden	1,470	3
Hendersonville City	Hendersonville, 28739	Henderson	1,871	4
Perquimans County	Hartford, 27944	Perquimans	2,013	4

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston County	Charleston, 29403	Charleston	54,308	80
Pickens County	Pickens, 29671	Pickens	13,182	28
Chesterfield County	Ruby, 29741	Chesterfield	8,659	16
Lexington County 01	Lexington, 29072	Lexington	5,574	7

NAMES AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

SOUTH CAROLINA
(Con't)

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Spartanburg County 06	Fairforest, 29336	Spartanburg	6,999	17
Fairfield County	Winnsboro, 29180	Fairfield	4,784	10
York County	Clover, 29710	York	2,351	5
Anderson County 03	Iva, 29655	Anderson	2,200	4
Clarendon County 03	Tuberville, 29162	Clarendon	1,247	3
Greenwood County 52	Ninety Six, 29666	Greenwood	1,329	3
Saluda County 01	Saluda, 29138	Saluda	2,450	5
Burnwell County 29	Williston, 29853	Burnwell	996	3
	TENNESSEE			
Hamilton County	Chattanooga, 37402	Hamilton	30,199	53
Sullivan County	Blountville, 37617	Sullivan	18,512	40
Coche County	Newport, 37821	Coche	5,345	12
Hardeman County	Bolivar, 38008	Hardeman	5,493	9
Lawrence County	Lawrenceburg, 38464	Lawrence	6,663	20
Roane County	Kingston, 37748	Roane	6,524	18
Washington County	Jonesboro, 37659	Washington	9,392	16
Claiborne County	Tazewell, 37979	Claiborne	4,547	21
Grainger County	Rutledge, 37861	Grainger	3,007	6
Humboldt City	Humboldt, 38343	Gibson	2,809	5
Monroe County	Madisonville, 37354	Monroe	4,358	11
Smith County	Carthage, 37030	Smith	3,010	11
Clay County	Celina, 38551	Clay	1,621	6
Huntington City	Huntington, 38344	Carroll	1,424	3
McKenzie City	McKenzie, 38201	Carroll	1,477	3
Union County	Maynardville, 37807	Union	2,106	8
Crockett Mills City	Crockett Mills, 38201	Crockett	321	1
Moore County	Lynchburg, 37352	Moore	832	3
	TEXAS			
Fort Worth ISD	Fort Worth, 76107	Tarrant	80,089	116
Spring Branch ISD	Houston, 77024	Harris	39,333	34
Beaumont	Beaumont, 77704	Jefferson	13,452	22
Ector Co. ISD	Odessa, 79760	Ector	22,621	32
Killeen	Killeen, 76541	Bell	13,578	19
San Angelo ISD	San Angelo, 76901	Tom Green	14,523	27
Alice ISD	Alice, 78332	Jim Wells	6,439	11
Brazosport ISD	Freeport, 77541	Brazoria	9,966	16
Fort Bend ISD	Stafford, 77477	Fort Bend	7,378	6
Kingsville ISD	Kingsville, 78363	Kleberg	6,462	12
Sequin ISD	Sequin, 78155	Guadalupe	5,209	10
Vidor ISD	Vidor, 77662	Orange	5,636	5
A & M Cons. ISD	College Station, 77840	Brazos	2,653	4
Borger ISD	Borger, 79007	Hutchinson	3,195	7
Copperas Cove ISD	Copperas Cove, 76522	Coryell	4,266	5
East Central ISD	San Antonio, 78220	Bexar	3,681	6
El Campo	El Campo, 77437	Wharton	3,892	5
Henderson ISD	Henderson, 75652	Rush	3,330	8
Highland Park ISD	Dallas, 75205	Dallas	4,727	6

NAMES AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS
OF LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

TEXAS
(Con't)

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Liberty-Eylau ISD	Texarkana, 75501	Bowie	2,846	6
Mansfield ISD	Mansfield, 76063	Tarrant	2,837	5
New Coney ISD	New Coney, 77357	Montgomery	3,120	5
Raymondville ISD	Raymondville, 78580	Willacy	2,835	6
Sulphur Springs ISD	Sulphur Springs, 75482	Hopkins	2,997	8
Wharton ISD	Wharton, 77488	Wharton	2,861	5
Abernathy ISD	Abernathy, 79311	Hale	1,119	3
Aransas Pass ISD	Aransas Pass, 78336	San Patricio	1,996	4
Bonham ISD	Bonham, 75418	Fannin	2,195	5
Brownsboro ISD	Brownsboro, 75756	Henderson	1,105	3
Carrizo Springs ISD	Carrizo Springs, 78834	Dimmit	2,250	6
Center ISD	Center, 75935	Shelby	2,119	4
Connally ISD	Waco, 76705	McLennon	2,063	5
Denver City	Denver City, 79323	Yoakum	1,596	4
East Chambers ISD	Winnie, 77665	Chambers	1,043	3
Edna ISD	Edna, 77957	Jackson	1,959	5
Georgetown	Georgetown, 78626	Williamson	2,112	4
Graham ISD	Graham, 76046	Young	2,034	5
Hays Cons. ISD	Kyle, 78640	Hays	1,626	5
Kenedy ISD	Kenedy, 78119	Karnes	1,247	4
Hitchcock ISD	Hitchcock, 77563	Galveston	1,949	4
Idalou	Idalou, 79329	Lubbock	1,013	3
Mexia ISD	Mexia, 76667	Limestone	1,879	4
Morton ISD	Morton, 79346	Cochran	1,071	4
Northwest ISD	Justin, 76247	Denton	1,155	6
Pleasanton ISD	Pleasanton, 78064	Alascosta	2,095	5
Rockdale ISD	Rockdale, 76567	Milam	1,607	3
Sealy ISD	Sealy, 77474	Austin	1,163	3
Socorro ISD	El Paso, 79927	El Paso	1,951	3
Waller	Waller, 77484	Waller	1,458	3
Whitehouse ISD	Whitehouse, 75791	Smith	1,335	3
Zapata ISD	Zapata, 78076	Zapata	1,273	4
Academy ISD	Temple, 76501	Bell	446	2
Allen ISD	Allen, 75002	Collins	659	3
Anson ISD	Anson, 79501	Jones	818	2
Barber Hill ISD	Mont Belvieu, 77580	Chambers	732	3
Blanco ISD	Blanco, 78606	Blanco	491	2
Boling ISD	Boling, 77420	Wharton	963	3
Woodsboro ISD	Woodsboro, 78393	Refugio	844	3
White Oaks ISD	White Oaks, 75693	Gregg	855	2
Snook ISD	Snook, 77878	Burleson	536	2
Spur ISD	Spur, 79370	Dickens	536	2
Three Rivers ISD	Three Rivers, 78071	Live Oak	712	3
Tidehaven ISD	El Maton, 77440	Matagorda	816	4
Waelder ISD	Waelder, 78959	Gonzales	337	2
Boyd ISD	Boyd, 76023	Wise	636	2
Broaddus ISD	Broaddus, 75929	San Augustine	447	2
Cedar Hill ISD	Cedar Hill, 75104	Dallas	983	3
Coppell ISD	Coppell, 75019	Dallas	507	2
Central Heights ISD	Nacogdoches, 75961	Nacogdoches	408	2
Crosbyton	Crosbyton, 79322	Crosby	845	4

NAMES AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS
OF LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

TEXAS
(Con't)

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Dawson ISD	Dawson, 76639	Navarro	343	2
Detroit ISD	Detroit, 75436	Red River	473	3
Dripping Springs ISD	Dripping Springs, 78620	Hays	784	3
Eastland ISD	Eastland, 76448	Eastland	809	3
Electra ISD	Electra, 76360	Wichita	853	4
Evadale ISD	Evadale, 77615	Jasper	476	2
Flatonia ISD	Flatonia, 78941	Fayette	470	2
Giddings ISD	Giddings, 78942	Lee	933	3
Grand Saline ISD	Grand Saline, 75140	Van Zandt	878	2
Hart ISD	Hart, 79043	Castro	655	2
Hull-Daisetta ISD	Daisetta, 75533	Liberty	813	3
Jourdanton ISD	Jourdanton, 78026	Atascosa	731	2
Kennard ISD	Kennard, 75847	Houston	490	2
Lazbuddie ISD	Lazbuddie, 79053	Parmer	323	2
Mart ISD	Mart, 76664	McLennan	733	3
Mt. Enterprise ISD	Mt. Enterprise, 75681	Rush	318	2
Olton ISD	Olton, 79064	Lamb	991	3
Pottsboro ISD	Pottsboro, 75076	Grayson	671	4
Shallowater ISD	Shallowater, 79363	Lubbock	726	2
Roby ISD	Roby, 79543	Fisher	315	2
		VIRGINIA		
Henrico County	Highland Springs, 23075	Henrico	32,974	33
Henry County	Martinsville, 24112	Henry	12,936	24
Roanoke City	Roanoke, 24009	Roanoke City	17,493	34
Albemarle County	Charlottesville, 22901	Albemarle	8,647	19
Danville City	Danville, 24541	Danville City	9,602	18
Hanover County	Ashland, 23005	Hanover	9,866	17
Pulaski County	Pulaski, 24301	Pulaski	7,196	13
Bristol City	Bristol, 24201	Bristol City	3,038	7
Dickenson County	Clintwood, 24228	Dickenson	4,379	9
Greenville County	Emporia, 23847	Greenville	3,474	7
Northampton County	Eastville, 23347	Northampton	2,910	8
Staunton City	Staunton, 24401	Staunton	4,366	8
Appomattox County	Appomattox, 24522	Appomattox	2,380	4
Clifton Forge City	Clifton Forge, 24422	Clifton Forge City	1,127	3
Galax City	Galax, 24333	Galax City	1,274	2
Lexington City	Lexington, 24450	Lexington City	1,083	3
Suffolk City	Suffolk, 23434	Suffolk City	1,886	5
West Point	King William, 23086	King William	662	2